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Documents Relating to Indian Nationalism

Correspondence between Major E. R. C. Bradford and Kailas Nath Sukul

(18 May, 1875 to 10 September, 1875)

कार्यकारी सह सम्पादक
संग्रहालय पुरातत्व मंत्रिका, उ० प्र०,
राज्य संग्रहालय, लखनऊ

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Editor: G. N. SALETORE

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STATE ARCHIVES OF UTTAR PRADESH, ALLAHABAD
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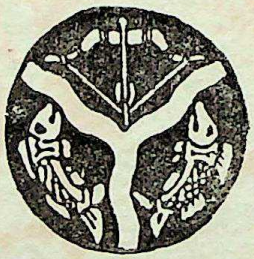

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Kailas Nath Sukul
(1834–1901)

By courtesy : **Kuber Nath Sukul,** Varanasi.

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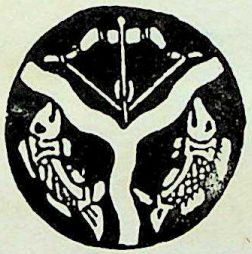

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"If it be true that national character is formed partly by physical surroundings, climate and scenery, partly also by historical associations—then any one who sees the Deccan and reads its history will not have far to go in order to discover the reasons why the political tendencies there demand vigilance on the part of the British Government."

Sir Richard Temple, *Men and Events of My Time in India*, p. 469 (London, 1882).

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PREFACE

Historical papers in the custody of old families throw invaluable light on history. If they are not acquired and preserved there is every possibility of their perishing by neglect. One such valuable collection of old historical papers, acquired by the U. P. Regional Records Survey Committee in 1954, has been published in this volume. The collection comprises 88 unpublished letters exchanged between Major E. R. C. Bradford, Superintendent of the Thuggee and Dacoity Department of the Government of India and Pandit Kailas Nath Sukul. Towards the end of the Viceroyalty of Lord Northbrook, the attention of the Government of India was drawn to the popular unrest ensuing on the deposition of Malhar Rao Gaekwad of Baroda. Major Bradford deputed Pandit Sukul to Poona for observing and reporting on the political condition prevailing there. The detailed information given by Pandit Sukul covers a wide range of subjects, like national feelings against the British, the affairs in Baroda, attitude of the Princes in the matter, Agrarian Riots in the Deccan, genesis of the Swadeshi movement, social conditions, devastation by floods in Allahabad and Varanasi, etc. In heartily commending this volume to the research scholars, I hope they will find pleasure and profit in utilising these raw materials for their study.

LUCKNOW :
Dated March 20, 1968.

L. K. NAGAR, I.A.S.,
Director of Cultural Affairs and
Scientific Research,
Uttar Pradesh.

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राज्य संग्रहालय, लखनऊ

INTRODUCTION

The documents published in this book comprise the correspondence exchanged between Major Edward Ridley Colborne Bradford and Pandit Kailas Nath Sukul, during May 18, 1875 and September 10, 1875. 33 of these letters were from Major Bradford and the remaining 55 emanated from Pandit Sukul. There is a vivid description here, among other matters, of the aftermath of the deposition of Malhar Rao Gaekwad, the political and agrarian unrest against the Rule and the role of socio-political reformers of the times. These papers were acquired from Pandit Kuber Nath Sukul, in 1954, on the recommendation of the U. P. Regional Records Survey Committee. The valuable information contained in them relates to the dark period of Indian history between the Mutiny of 1857 and the rise of the Indian National Congress.

BRITISH RELATIONS WITH BARODA

The history of the Gaekwads reached a tragic climax in the reign of Malhar Rao. He was involved, it is said, in an uprising in Baroda during 1857. An attempt on the life of his elder brother Khande Rao, led to his incarceration since 1863 at Padra, near Baroda. When Khande Rao died, in November 1870, Malhar Rao became the Gaekwad, in the absence of an heir. In the last six years of the previous reign, and under Malhar Rao too, the administration of the *Raj* was unsatisfactory. Malhar Rao's regime witnessed court intrigues, oppression and unfriendly dealings with the Government of Bombay. At this time the Baroda Residency was under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Bombay. Colonel Robert Phayre, the new Resident, reported many cases of Malhar Rao's misrule. The Government of India consequently instituted on September 19, 1873, a Commission of inquiry in the matter. Pursuant to the Commission's findings, the Government of India drew Malhar Rao's attention to his responsibilities for providing a good

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government, warned him that failure to reform the administration, by December 1874, would entail his deposition and advised that he was free to nominate his Dewan.[1]

Upon this Malhar Rao desired to nominate Dadabhai Naoroji. But Col. Phayre perennially interfered in the administration, allied himself with the dubious courtiers, delayed recognising Dadabhai as Dewan and refused to acknowledge Malhar Rao's marriage with Lakshmibai. Dadabhai had reorganised the departments and suggested innovations. But further troubles in the *Raj* were brewing, with accumulated revenue arrears and a depleted treasury. On Dadabhai's advice the Gaekwad requested Lord Northbrook to replace Col. Phayre, in view of his attempts to augment the troubles. Almost immediately Col. Phayre reported of an attempt to poison him by secreting arsenic and diamond dust in his morning *sherbet*. Dadabhai in the interest of administration had earlier urged Malhar Rao to divest himself of favourites like Damodar Pant, Babubhai, Kharkar, Nanasaheb, Govind Rao Mama and others. Malhar Rao agreed to part with all except Damodar. Upon this Dadabhai and his cabinet decided to quit. The Government of India meanwhile had appointed Sir Lewis Pelly as the Agent to the Governor-General, instead of the Resident. Before Dadabhai's departure Sir Lewis confided to him that Malhar Rao was involved in the poisoning case. Dadabhai then resigned and left for Bombay on January 11, 1875. Sir Lewis also reported to the Government that Malhar Rao had done nothing substantial in the sphere of reform and his prosecution was justifiable for the complicity in poisoning. So the Government of India decided to apprehend Malhar Rao and set-up another Commission to investigate the allegations against him. This Commission had as it's President, Sir Richard Couch, Chief Justice of Bengal; and 4 Members—Sir Richard Meade, Maharaja Shinde, Maharaja of Jaipur and Sir Dinkar Rao. Maharaja Holkar declined to serve on this body. The Commission was divided in it's opinion, the European members declaring Malhar Rao as guilty and the Indian members holding the opposite view. The Government of India however did not take action on the Commission's verdict, but started proceedings against the Gaekwad on counts of further misrule. Accordingly the A. G. G. arrested Malhar Rao on January 14, 1875 and arraigned him before the tribunal. On April 13, 1875, the

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[1] Jackson, F. H: *A History of H. H. the Gaekwar's Contingent of Horse from the year 1817—1877*, pp. 126-7 (Calcutta, 188-); Dodwell, H. H in *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 6, p. 493 (1958 ed.); Masani, R. P. *Dadabhai Naoroji : The Grand Old Man of India*, pp. 130-1, 140, 149-150 (London, 1939).

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unfortunate Prince was secretly spirited away in a special train, deported to Madras and detained there as a state prisoner.[2]

The doubtful and concurrent circumstances of this incident posed to the Viceroy "a series of most awkward questions for decision" which could hardly be deferred. These arose from the inaction of the Residents at Baroda, behaviour of Colonel Phayre, difficulties with the Bombay Government, Malhar Rao's trial for alleged poisoning of Phayre, division in the Commission regarding Malhar Rao's complicity, public agitation, disposition of the English Press and difficulties encountered in the choice of a suitable successor.[3] Lord Northbrook found Malhar Rao's incident "more difficult than the famine", while it caused "great excitement and much passionate controversy both at home and in India".[4] Indeed it gave him "more moments of anxiety", and "stirred native public opinion on the whole question of British rule as it did than anything that occurred during this period of office".[5] In this connection, Sukul reported to Bradford, on June 5, 1875, how the attempts to incite the troops to mutiny and induce the Baroda claimant, Sadashiv Rao, to assume their command, bore "a most intimate" connection with the affairs which then entirely occupied "the attention of the Supreme Government".[6] The Viceroy's action regarding Malhar Rao was believed to be right, but the "inconvenient precedent" it had created showed its execution to be questionable.[7]

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[2] Jackson, F. H., *op. cit.*, pp. 134-135; Masani, R. P., *op. cit.*, p. 148 ff. The students of the Deccan College at Poona took keen interest in discussing the proceedings of Malhar Rao's trial at Baroda, which appeared in the papers and the College authorities set apart for this purpose half an hour daily; Bal Gangadhar Tilak, then barely 19, took a leading part in the above discussions. *See* Bapat, S. V. *Lokamanya Tilak Yanchya Athavani va Akhyayika*, Vol. II, pp. 613-614 (Poona, 1925). The Government of India felt that in the Baroda case Col. R. Phayre had wholly misunderstood the spirit of their instructions and those of the Bombay Government, due to which his continuance as Resident was not conducive to the "reasonable prospect of a satisfactory result", and the Bombay Government had failed to appreciate "the gravity of the situation". Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State, also reprimanded the Bombay Government for being swayed by "motives of a secondary character" and stated that Col. Phayre's direction was too serious a matter and his character did not fit in with the "delicate duties" assigned to him. The Government of India then suspended the jurisdiction of the Bombay Government over Baroda and appointed an A. G. G and Special Commissioner, instead of a Resident (Masani, R. P., *ob. cit.*, pp. 167-168).

[3] Mallet, Bernard, *Thomas George : Earl of Northbrook, G. C. S. I., a Memoir*, pp. 92-93 (London, 1908).

[4] *Ibid*, p. 92.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 96.

[6] Letter No. 29.

[7] Mallet, B., *op. cit.*, p. 96. The Viceroy's policy brought into relief two principles—first, that the rights of the Princes were respected; and secondly, that the Princes owed duties to the people and the British Government, the latter having final responsibility for the proper discharge of such duties (*Ibid*, pp. 96-97). Thus by delegating more powers to the Residents and other administrators, the Supreme Government successively imposed on the Indian States "a system of indirect rule",

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SUKUL'S MISSION IN THE DECCAN

Early in 1875, Major Bradford, General Superintendent of Operations for Suppression of Thuggee and Dacoity, made an inquiry regarding the widespread political agitation which ensued on the deposition of Malhar Rao.[8] For this purpose he deputed Sukul on a secret mission to report on the movements of the people of the Deccan.[9]

Calling Sukul to Simla, Bradford explained what was to be done and, after he left, sent instructions on fresh points.[10] Among the particulars required by him were authenticity of the circulars of purohits sympathising Malhar Rao;[11] movements of designing people in Baroda;[12] details of those taking advantage of "the widespread feeling" on the Baroda issue;[13] authorship of letters addressed to the Princes to help Malhar Rao;[14] proposed second Mutiny by the troops;[15] activities of the *Sarvajanik*

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which was slowly adopted in other places. Panikkar, K. M., *Asia and Western Dominance*, p. 114 (London, 1965) : "In this way both British and Indian India became in effect a single immensely powerful political entity under the control of the authorities in London".

[8] The Thuggee and Dacoity department became obsolete later and, under Lord Curzon, it was replaced by the Department of Criminal Intelligence. See, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 6, p. 373. E. R. C. Bradford, Colonel, K. C. B., K. C. S. I., A. D. C., M. S. C., held the following posts : Coronet, 6th Light Infantry, Madras, 1854; in Persia, under General Jacob, 1856; Political Assistant, Western Malwa and in command of the 1st Regiment, Central India Horse, November, 1860; Pol. Agent, Baghelkhand, 1871; Pol. Agent, Bharatpur Agency, 1873; General Superintendent Operations for Suppression of Thuggee and Dacoity, Simla, May 1874; Chief Commissioner, Ajmer, and later, Secretary, Political and Secret Department, Simla, 1887; escorted Prince Albert Victor in India, 1889-90, resigned June 1890, on appointment as Chief Commissioner, Metropolitan Police, London. *Vide, The India Office List for* 1891 *containing an account of the services of officers in the Indian Service and other Information, p.* 206. (Compiled from official records by direction of the Secretary of State for India-in-Council, 5th issue, London, 1891).

[9] Pandit Kailas Nath Sukul was born at Varanasi on Kartika, Shukla 5, Samvat 1891. His career was as follows—educated at the Queen's College, Varanasi and obtained the Senior Department Certificate; pursued a medical course in the Calcutta Medical College, Calcutta; made a self-study of engineering, which was used in constructing a wooden bridge on the river Suwawan at Balrampur (Gonda District, U. P.); appointed Private Secretary to the Maharaja of Balrampur, on the recommendation of Sir Charles Wingfield, Chief Commissioner of Oudh; served, as above, from 1860—1877, except for two years during 1874 and 1875, when he was under Major Bradford; proficient in nineteen languages (Foreign and Indian), a reputed artist and a fine vocalist; a hereditary pensioner of the Balrampur Durbar, he settled at Varanasi and died there on July 2, 1901. His son, Sambhu Nath Sukul (6-1-1871 to 27-4-1932), versed in 11 languages (English being his speciality) served as the Superintendent of the Catalogue Department of the Education Directorate, U. P. (1904—1926). His son, Professor Kuber Nath Sukul (born December 8, 1902) had a distinguished career in the U. P. Educational Service; he later became the Professor of Education in the Varanaseya Sanskrit University, Varanasi, retiring in 1962. He has written a book on Child Psychology and another on the Religious history and geography of Varanasi. I am indebted to Professor Kuber Nath Sukul for this information. G. N. S.

[10] Letter Nos. 10, 14.

[11] Letter No. 4.

[12] Letter No. 8.

[13] Letter Nos. 8, 41.

[14] Letter Nos. 12, 20, 22, 67, 71, 88.

[15] Letter Nos. 1, 8.

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Sabha;[16] disloyal news reports in the Vernacular Press;[17] and inquiries regarding Gangadhar Waste, Anandba, Hari Pant, etc.[18] Sukul had to give particular, rather than general, statements, being daily reports, on the actual happenings in those parts and their adverse effects on the measures taken (by the Viceroy); cautious statements were to be made (unlike that he was from Simla, which was deprecated); friends were to be acquired by degrees; mixing with all sorts of people was advised to get a good idea of the general public feeling, as opposed to that of the lecturing community[19]; Sukul's name, and that of Poona, were not to be written on the envelopes; listening and not arguing was advocated;[20] and last, but not least, he was to disarm suspicion of being Bradford's correspondent.[21]

Sukul reached Poona on April 17, 1875, and stayed there till July 8, 1875. He returned to Varanasi on July 18, 1875. Within three days of his arrival at Poona, the police questioned him and his companions, regarding their home town and present purpose.[22] To this Sukul said that he came down to set-up medical practice.[23] He called himself the late Private Secretary and Physician to the Maharaja of Balrampur and authorised a trusted servant to receive his *dak* at the post office.[24]

Sukul gleaned the minutest bits of political news that caused a stir there. Like a *Khufianawis* he posted his men everywhere, daily heard them and sent relevant information to Bradford, though his reports were based on his own observations made in the eight hours of his daily wanderings. He carefully remained in the background without revealing his vocation of news reporting.[25]

Sukul's arrival in Poona was unnoticed. But when he continued his stay people began to suspect him, tapped in vain his trusted servants and finally consulted their friends in the post office, where a delivery clerk revealed that Sukul occasionally got letters from Simla bearing the Government of India seal.[26] On June 13, 1875, Krishna Rao Gadgil visited Sukul with some friends and tried to discuss the Baroda *Raj*, but the latter remained reticent stating that Government's measures for the

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[16] Letter Nos. 19, 20, 26, 28 and 37.
[17] Letter Nos. 4, 12.
[18] Letter Nos. 4, 12.
[19] Letter Nos. 10, 12, 18, 24.
[20] Letter Nos. 18, 24.
[21] Letter No. 39.
[22] Letter No. 2.
[23] Letter No. 2.
[24] Letter no. 3.
[25] Letter No. 21.
[26] Letter Nos. 21, 38.

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Raj were beneficial. From their talk however he guessed that either they had intercepted a letter from Bradford or become wiser by the postal clerk's information.[27] A news item in the *Dnyan Prakash*, of June 15, announced that one or two Bengali spies were sent by the Government of India to watch the people of Poona.[28] Another letter, appearing two days later, in the *Prabhat Patrika*, warned the public of Poona regarding the presence of "a Stranger" in town and advised Sukul to leave the place immediately as his vocation was discovered and he could no more deceive the public. M. G. Ranade also received a telegram from the Secretary of the Calcutta Brahmo Samaj stating that the Central Government had sent two spies, a Bengali and a Jew, to report on the object of the various associations.[29]

Meanwhile Sukul made many friends and freely mixed in the society. Some of his best Marathi speaking friends used to stay at his house for more than ten to twelve hours a day. But when he was suspected as a Government spy from Calcutta or Simla, the elite of Poona began to avoid him and became quite changed in their behaviour.[30] On June 14, G. V. Joshi told him that some Bengali spies of the Government of India were trying to see the records of the *Sarvajanik Sabha* by subborning the person in charge, which was useless and highly improper.[31] Some of Sukul's friends were summoned on June 14 by a Secret Committee of the *Sabha* to testify the truth regarding him. But they swore that the allegations were incorrect, as he was neither a Bengali nor had he gleaned anything from them.[32] Consequent to the publication of the news about Sukul, the Superintendent of Police, Poona, under the Governor's orders, called Sukul and interrogated him on June 26. During this interview Sukul said that he had come from Simla to Varanasi and from there to Poona for a change; he had commercial and other friends at Simla; he did not know Lord Northbrook or Aitcheson; the letters with the Government seal were from Bradford regarding the translation of a Vernacular report on Kashmir; a certificate from Sir Charles Wingfield, Chief Commissioner of Oudh, was produced vouching for his credentials, upon which the Superintendent said that Sir Charles was nearly related to him; and the Superintendent also affirmed that he "never saw or heard of Government ever employing any natives as spies in preference to their police, excepting against these, their most determined foes, the natives of Poona".[33]

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[27] and [28] Letter Nos. 35, 38.
[29] and [30] Letter Nos. 50, 38.
[31] and [32] Letter No. 38.
[33] Letter No. 50.

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Sukul's friends now stopped the meetings of the *Sarvajanik Sabha* afraid that he would report their discussion to the Government. However to show amity, the *Indu Prakash* of June 28, 1875 said that there were no grounds to suspect Sukul as a detective, as he was a mere visitor to Poona. In view of the mutual suspicions, the people would have gone any length to discover "his real circumstances". Bradford therefore asked him to return.[34] He also praised Sukul for his assiduous work and valuable information.[35]

Kailas Nath Sukul is to be identified with the *Aparichit Mushafar* or *Paraka Grahastha Mushafar* (Unknown Travelling Stranger) figuring in Ramabai Ranade's personal reminiscences. She narrates how four months' prior to her husband's (Mr. Justice M. G. Ranade's) transfer to Nasik, a stranger under the pretext of travelling came and stayed in Poona. His object was to acquaint himself and establish friendly contacts with a good many educated persons, big and small, as well as with the old and young citizens. This was the outward semblance. But what exactly was in his mind was a secret best known to him (*Pan antun tyachen kay Gaudbangal asel ten tyalach mahit*). In a house which he had rented, pan, supari, cigarettes, cigars, card-playing (including that of 96 cards), *songtis*, chess, sitar, etc. were always readily available. The elite of Poona, who much enjoyed these pleasures, found this a golden opportunity and clung to him like flies. Many persons dissipated their mornings and evenings in his rooms which became a venue of their meetings for some game or other. Among them especially was Sitaram Hari Chiplunkar, the Secretary of the *Sarvajanik Sabha* whose interest in the quarterly meetings diminished, whereas earlier he visited M. G. Ranade's house daily for this purpose. On observing the remissness one day Ranade inquired in what work he was then so much engrossed. Chiplunkar thereupon told him the story of the Stranger. Not satisfied, Ranade asked Chiplunkar not to talk to the Stranger about the *Sabha* without consulting him or else it would be unnecessarily inviting trouble. Ranade said that he suspected the man to be a spy and this presumption would be confirmed soon (*to manushya hera asava asa mazha ajmas ahe va toch khara tharel*). Soon after one day some of the elite visited Ranade's house and said that the gentleman in town was too zealous, jolly, social and learned (*pharach houshi, anandi mana milavu va vidvan ahet*). Ranade asked then if they knew his name, home town present occupation (*hally kay dhanda kartat*) and educational qualifications. They said being

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[34] Letter Nos. 26, 44, 49, 50, 52.

[35] Letters Nos. 20, 24, 28, 30, 32, 34.

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rather reserved this man revealed nothing when questioned about those, but jocularly said that he was a small man whose particulars did not concern them; this was due to his being modest and reticence to talk of his own achievements; otherwise he appeared to belong to a respectable family and was very learned (*phara vidvan asave*). Ranade agreed about the possibility of the man's excellence and learning, but he wanted them to get some information before they thought of anything. For this if they were to obtain the following information—on waking up the next morning, they were to ascertain minutely from the post office the name of the town appearing on the post-mark, where his letters are received from and addresses to which his letters are sent, etc., and report the position within a day or two (*Udya tapalacha shodh lava : patravaril chap kontya ganvala javayachi astat vagaire sarva barkayinen pahun ekdon divasant mala yevun kalava*). The gentlemen agreed and left. On the third morning Sitaram Pant Chiplunkar reported that on the previous day and day before inquiries were made about the Stranger's post; he did not get it through his servant; he rose early for his constitutional, went by one road and, to divert attention, cut across, and reached the G. P. O. where he received the Dak and himself posted his finished letters; on the previous day he was followed at a discreet distance, and on the way a torn envelope was found bearing the post-mark of Simla. Thus Chiplunkar agreed that Ranade's suspicion was greatly confirmed. Besides a friend of Chiplunkar in the G. P. O. had just informed him that the Stranger regularly corresponded with Secretaries (to Government) in Calcutta and Simla. On learning this the rush of the Poona elite at the Stranger's house began to stop. Finding this sudden change, the Stranger thought that his secret would be exposed and promptly disappeared, bag and baggage, from Poona, on the third night, without any one's knowledge.[36] Some of these facts generally confirm the details mentioned by Sukul himself.[37] Indeed his correspondence forms an invaluable

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[36] Ramabai Ranade, *Amchya Ayushyantil Kahin Athavani* : *Nyayamurti Ranade Yanchi Dharmapar Vyakhyanen*, pp. 46—49 (Poona, 1928); see another translation, *Himself—The Autobiography of Hindu Lady*, translated and adapted by Katherine Van Akin Gates from a book written in the Marathi language by Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, pp. 42—44 (New York, 1938); also see *Ranade* : *His Wife's Reminiscences;* translated from the Marathi original by Kusumavati Deshpande, pp. 51-53 (Delhi, 1963). A reference is made by Parvate to this "amusing affair in which a Bengali detective was involved and was exposed", *vide*, Parvate, T. V., *Mahadev Govind Ranade—a Biography*, p. 89 (Bombay, 1963). The phrase in the text *tyachen kay Gaudabangal asel* does not imply a Bengali detective, as Parvate assumes, but only means a secret or "mysterious project" (*Gaudabangal*) as understood in Marathi. There is a discrepancy in the memoirs of Ramabai Ranade and the correspondence noticed here regarding the presence of K. N. Sukul in Poona. Ramabai Ranade writes that this episode took place four months prior to M. G. Ranade's transfer to Nasik. This occurred in 1878. Obviously Ramabai Ranade, was somewhat mistaken about the chronology as she wrote her memoirs much later and the events took place when she was barely thirteen years old.

[37] Letter Nos. 21, 35, 38, 40, 44, 46, 50, 51.

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postscript to the information available on the subject, highlighting several points, which are briefly noticed here.

BARODA AFFAIRS

During the meetings of the Baroda Commission, Maharaja Holkar went there incognito, met the three Indian members and influenced their decision in favour of Malhar Rao, after informing them how, at Calcutta, the Viceroy had confided to him his desire to save Malhar Rao. This diplomatic deception was intended for inviting, on Shinde and the Jaipur ruler, the Viceroy's wrath which Holkar incited, due to jealousy of the larger dominion and the British favour enjoyed by those princes, although they were, he believed, inferior to him in politics. He was also likewise envious of the Gaekwad.[38] Public opinion hardly placed any importance to the judgment of the three British members (because they could not have acted against Government interests), but the verdict of the three Indian members greatly disgraced them, the Government having ignored their views.[39] Krishna Rao Jathar was secretly sent by Shinde to Simla for ascertaining the views of the Viceroy and his Council on his opinion in the Baroda trial.[40]

The British papers, including the *London Times,* condemned the deposition of Malhar Rao as being based on insufficient evidence and the Bengali and Marathi press declared Malhar Rao as guiltless.[41] His supporters in the *Sarvajanik Sabha* protested that he was suddenly deposed without paying the least respect to the clauses in the former British treaties with the Gaekwads and in the absence of any authority for the same (*Gaekwadasi purvi zhaleli Tahanamyantil atin kade lakshya na deta adhikar ekaeki Gaekwadas tyancha sarhaddicha par nevun takli hya Anglabhauma krittit kiti nyaya sachoti ahe*).[42] Malhar Rao's unjust treatment was attributed to "a private grudge that Lord Northbrook had taken against him", ever since his refusal to attend the Viceregal Durbar at Bombay.[43] The people did

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[38] Letter No. 54. Sukul believed that Holkar may have sent this message through G. V. Joshi.

[39] Letter No. 1.

[40] Letter No. 75.

[41] Masani, R. P., *op. cit.*, p. 177; Letter No. 3. Besides the *Hindu Patriot*, the *Amrit Bazar Patrika, Somprakasha*, etc. outright decried the Government action in the matter. See Pal, B. C., *Memories of My Life and Times*, Vol. I, p. 271 (Calcutta, 1932).

[42] Letter No. 6 Enclosure and Appendix I.

[43] Letter No. 52. In his Durbar Malhar Rao refused to accord a right hand seat to Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, Governor of Bombay, upon which the Viceroy expressed his displeasure. In 1872 Malhar Rao was invited to the Viceregal Durbar at Bombay, but afraid of the precedent for reciprocity he consulted Dadabhai Naroji, then on

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not want his removal, though he was repulsive in his last years. His forbearance and moderation during the indignities suffered by him were appreciated by the public. Thus his calamity evoked great pity and attempts were made subsequently to assassinate his betrayers, Damodar Pant and Gajanan Vittal.[44] The people while agreeing that Malhar Rao was unfit to rule, nevertheless lamented that by his dethronement the *Raj* had been disgraced and the *"nationality had suffered.*[45] Some discerned in this the British determination to crush this country, imperceptibly annex the pet y principalities and extirpate the race—which were matters to be opposed.[46] In this connection the Marathi paper, *Indu Prakash* of June 17, 1875, drew the attention of the Queen of England to the unjust and cruel attitude in Malhar Rao's case, which had created dissatisfaction *"throughout the whole country"* and urged her to set-up forthwith a second inquiry by special officers of her confidence, failing which there were possibilities of a *"universal disturbance throughout the* country" that would be disastrous to Britain and her Indian subjects.[47]

Public agitation soon commenced for Malhar Rao's reinstatement, under the auspices of the *Sarvajanik Sabha* of Poona. On receipt of a public petition signed by 190 influential local citizens, sent to the British Parliament through the *Sabha's* Agent Sergeant William Ballantine, the Queen Empress directed the Government of India that until it was disposed of the adoption of an heir should be postponed.[48] The House of Commons promised every attention on another petition of 23,000 Poona citizens which prayed that their Agent may be permitted to sit in every session relating to Malhar Rao.[49] Sir Dinkar Rao was invited to Poona for instituting and handling a Parliamentary appeal against the Government decision on Malhar Rao.[50] In a letter published in the *Indu Prakash*, dated May 17, 1875, G. V. Joshi, Secretary of the *Sarvajanik Sabha* informed all the

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a visit to India. Dadabhai advised him not to attend on the plea of Queen Mhalsabai's illness. For this and the drafting of memorials to the Viceroy Dadabhai was paid half a lakh of rupees. It was while accepting this that Dadabhai said : "In doing such work I feel I am privileged to render a service to my country, *for what is a wrong to the Durbar of an Indian Prince is a wrong done to the country*" Masani, R. P., *op. cit.*, pp. 133, 137.

[44] Letter No. 47.

[45] Letter No. 49.

[46] Letter Nos. 9, 53.

[47] Letter No. 42.

[48] Letter Nos. 1-2. The signatories included officials of the Judge's Court, Poona; the Judge, obviously M. G. Ranade, did not advise them in this matter.

[49] Letter No. 25, Mr. Leath M. P. from Aberdeen presented it.

[50] Letter No. 46. Malhar Rao and Sadashiv Rao also intended to appeal to the Parliament (Letter No. 52).

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Princes of the injustice perpetrated on Malhar Rao, urged them to unite in this grand emergency and prayed for their contribution, by arms and money, in his restoration which was referred to the Parliament.[51] Holkar, as the first subscriber, donated one lakh rupees for this purpose, out of which a Vishnu temple was built by G. V. Joshi with a view to pray for Malhar Rao's success.[52] An affluent Mahant of Bombay, Jiwanji Maharaj, was spending lavishly for the release and restoration of the ex-Gaekwad.[53] Balwant Rao Dev consulted, for this purpose the famous Saint of Akkalkot.[54] Sir Dinkar Rao also visited this Saint.[55] On behalf of Malhar Rao two circular letters were sent by the Shastris of Poona to their counterparts in Varanasi, perhaps prompted by Balwant Rao Dev.[56]

The choice of Malhar Rao's successor presented difficulties to the Government. Immediately after his deposition, incited by Govind Rao Mama, a mob riot occurred in Baroda for installing the infant son of Queen Lakshmibai.[57] Another lineal claimant, Sadashiv Rao, the son of Bapubhai Saheb Gaekwad, was supported by the entire Deccan, but his claims were rejected by the Government.[58] Two other claimants Ganpat Rao and Khande Rao were bought-off by the grant of Court awards.[59] However the Government selected Sayaji Rao, a scion of the Khandesh branch of the Gaekwads. He was adopted on May 28, 1875 by Jumnabai, the Dowager Queen of Khande Rao and Sir Richard Meade installed him as the Gaekwad under her Regency.[60]

Malhar Rao's wicked geniuses during the regime were—the four judges of the Court, Govind Rao Mama, Balwant Rao Dev, Martand Rao and Hari Pant; the Dewan, Nana Khanvelkar (brother-in-law of Malhar Rao); the Private Dewan, Hariba Dada Gaekwad; the Assistant Dewan, Balwant Rao Rahurkar; the Superintendent of Police, Balwant Rao Yashwant; the Civil Sub-Judge, Narayan Rao Yashwant; and the Private Secretary,

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[51] Letter No. 6.

[52] Letter No. 54. It was given out that this contribution was raised from public subscription for financing the Sabha's Agent in England.

[53] Letter No. 75.

[54] Letter No. 81. This was Swami Samarth Maharaj, whom almost all nationalist leaders consulted for their problems. For his biography see Mulkar, Govind Ballal, *Akkalkot nivasi Swami Maharaj yanchen charitra* (*Nandurbar*, 1904).

[55] Letter No. 52.

[56] Letter Nos. 4, 15, 16 and 25. There is a reference in the circulars to some ceremony which is not specified.

[57] Letter No. 3. *Cf.* Jackson, J. H., *op. cit.*, p. 135.

[58] Letter No. 7.

[59] Letter No. 27.

[60] Letter No. 13; Jackson, J. H. *ibid.*, p. 35.

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Damodar Pant. Of these Nana Khanvelkar was removed on the recommendations of the first Commission.[61] Govind Rao Mama was asked to leave Baroda and he moved to Dakor in Gujarat.[62] Thereafter the chief planner of the exiled Gaekwad was Balwant Rao Dev, whom Govind Rao Mama also acknowledged as powerful, with Martand Rao and Hari Pant as advisers, the executors of the schemes being Hariba Dada, Balwant Rao Yashwant, Narayan Rao Yashwant and Damodar Pant.[63] Karim Baksh, a *Masahib* of Malhar Rao and his predecessor, and a friend of Nawab Wajid Ali Shah of Oudh, was also ordered by the British to leave Baroda.[64] In Poona, besides the *Sabha,* the social reformers were the determined supporters of his cause.[65]

Malhar Rao's treasures were in the custody of Govind Rao Mama, Damodar Pant, Balwant Rao Dev and Jiwanji Maharaj.[66] Malhar Rao's Queens Mhalsabai and Lakshmibai, and daughter Kamabai were pressing for the return of the state jewels taken over by the Government. Some of these jewels were sold-off by Queen Jumnabai.[67]

Lord Northbrook's role in the affairs of the *Raj* was publicly criticised. It was stated that he could not manage well his object of it's annexation, consequent to which the Government could get only a share in the administration.[68] He was woefully unable to administer India, which was extensive and contained different people.[69] The solicitors of Malhar Rao were not allowed by him to see their client, but the Secretary of State permitted this.[70] On incurring the displeasure of the Home Government, Lord Northbrook had resigned and the Duke of Buckingham was nominated as his successor.[71]

THE SARVAJANIK SABHA

Political associations had been formed in Bengal earlier.[72] The English educated youths of Poona held the Bengali's in high

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[61] Letter No. 36.

[62] Letter No. 3.

[63] Letter No. 36.

[64] Letter No. 47, Malhar Rao had friends at Varanasi, like Sakharam Bhat and Safdar Ali (Letter Nos. 83, 87).

[65] Letter No. 15.

[66] Letter Nos. 3, 7, 75.

[67] Letter No. 3, 33.

[68] Letter No. 3.

[69] Letter No. 42.

[70] Letter No. 25.

[71] Letter Nos. 42, 71.

[72] In Calcutta the *Zamindari Association* was established in 1837. It's name was changed in the next year to *Landholders' Society*. On April 20, 1843, a *British India Society* came up. Eight years later both became defunct. Devendra Nath Tagore

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esteem. They said that currently the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* was the best public spirited "paper; the Bengalis were the "freest minded and most public spirited"; it was worthwhile establishing friendly relations with some leading Bengal associations and also employing on good payment able Bengalis as Secretaries of a few of their own organisations.[73]

On the political association of Poona, Sir Richard Temple, Governor of Bombay, expresses the following view: "The *Sarvajanik Sabha* may be hypercritical, but it is certainly original".[74] It was a great success in the Deccan, but it's work was inconclusive, as the Government treated it harshly and disallowed public utterances by it's members, the bulk of whom were Government employees.[75] According to the *Englishman*, the *Sarvajanik Sabha* with it's "large and fearful combination of the public and nobility" posed a danger to the Government, and it was indeed "a very strong thing".[76] This *Sabha* and the Marathi Press of the Deccan had much "influence on the hearts of the public".[77]

In 1867 the *Poona Association* was formed to serve as a channel between the Government and the public. It was merged on April 2, 1870, with the new *Sarvajanik Sabha*.[78] Ganesh Vasudev Joshi was the Secretary, Founder and the Chief Mover of this *Sabha*.[79] It's constitution specified that only those

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then became Secretary of the newly formed *National Association* (September 14, 1851) and *British India Association* (October 29, 1851). The latter urged the citizens of Madras and Poona to establish it's branches in these cities or form similar Associations. In 1852, Madras set-up a branch, which was wound up later when it's activities were suspected by the Governor, Mount Stuart Grant Duff. The *Association of Bombay was started* in 1852 and in that year again the Poona Sardars inaugurated a *Deccan Association*. In 1854, Mor Shastri Sathe set-up the *Kalyanonnayak Sabha*, which soon became extinct. An agitation for the transfer of British Indian territory to the Crown was started in 1855 by the *Madras Native Association*. Raj Narayan Bose formed in 1866, at Midnapore, the *Jati-O-Gaurab Sampadan Sabha*, for fostering national feeling and the *Hindu Mela* was got up by Naba Gopal Mitra, in 1868, to instil the Swadeshi spirit. In 1871 and 1873 the *Association* at Bombay sent delegates to England to plead India's cause. In 1875, Sisir Kumar Ghose started the *India League* to organise political agitation in this country. See Majumdar, R. C., *Glimpses of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 84-5 (Calcutta, 1960); Bose, Nemai Sadhan, *The Indian National Movement; an outline*, pp. 21, 75, 95 (Calcutta, 1965); Majumdar, B. B., *Indian Political Associations and Reform of Legislature*, 1818—1917, pp. 13, 24, 27, 34—9, 65—9, 92, 95 (Calcutta, 1965). Parvate, T. V., *Mahadev Govind Ranade—a Biography*, p. 75 (Bombay, 1963). For some information on the *Sarvajanik Sabha*, *see* Heimsath, Charles, H, *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform*, pp. 64-65 (Princeton, 1964); Seal, Anil, *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism*, pp. 236—238 (Cambridge, 1968).

[73] Letter No. 3.

[74] Temple, Sir Richard, *Men and Events of My Time in India*, p. 498.

[75] Letter No. 9.

[76] Letter Nos. 16, 22.

[77] Letter No. 49.

[78] *Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement in India (collected from Bombay Government Records)*; Vol. I, p. 150 (Bombay, 1957).

[79] Letter No. 22.

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procuring a *Mukhtarnamah* from fifty influential people could be enrolled as it's members. It's assembly rooms were at Phadtarewada, Sadashivpeth, Poona. With branches in the Bombay Presidency, it had in 1875 a strength of seven to eight thousand members.[80] The *Assembly Rooms* housed the secret records of the *Sabha*, which K. N. Sukul examined clandestinely by subborning the person there. These proceedings revealed a great many things, which were too extensive for Sukul then to note down and divulgence of which endangered his life; but the Secret Committee had directed the founder of the Satara branch to excite the Ryots there for redeeming themselves from the Marwari indebtedness. Sukul's perusal of the papers, when suspected, caused great concern and regret to the members; G. V. Joshi avoided him after this; others feared that he may report the information to the Government; and it was believed that the secret records were likely to be destroyed or removed to another place of safety. The *Sabha* consequently stopped it's sessions.[81]

Unlike elsewhere, in the Deccan local men held very responsible Government posts. The appointment of the Reporter on the Native Press was made by "an enlightened" Maratha (i.e. M. G. Ranade). Prof. Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar held this post. A member of the *Sabha*, he did not take notice of seditious editorials, etc.[82]

The *Sabha's* Political activities were varied. One of it's objects was to resist and oust the British from India. The lectures conducted by it caused "a hardness of mind against anything foreign".[83] With it's twenty-five branches, the *Sabha* always protested against the tyranny and oppression of the British Government.[84] It found the fittest opportunity of misrepresenting and seducing the minds of the people, already shocked by the fate of ex-Gaekwad and vexed by the overassessment of the Presidency.[85] It sent, on the ex-Gaekwad's behalf. two public memorials to the Queen Empress and the British Parliament.[86] It issued an appeal (drafted by G. V. Joshi) to all the big and small princes of India, seeking their unity in the Grand Emergency of aiding Malhar Rao with money and arms for his restoration. Several times it addressed through it's Select Com-

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[80] Letter Nos. 22, 81.
[81] Letter Nos. 36, 43, 50.
[82] Letter Nos. 13, 27, 53.
[83] Letter No. 23.
[84] Letter Nos. 23, 57.
[85] Letter Nos. 35, 48.
[86] Letter Nos. 1, 2.

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mittees, Holkar and the Jaipur ruler, in a similar vein, to assemble, during the visit of the Prince of Wales, pe ty neighbouring chiefs for forming an offensive and defensive Union against the British Government. To this these rulers agreed.[87] It sent it's men, with those of Balwant Rao Dev, to incite the wild tribe of Ramoshis against the British on behalf of the ex-Gaekwad.[88] For the same purpose, and for raising a Second Mutiny, it attempted to humour and seduce the Government troops in the Deccan and Gujarat cantonments.[89] Prompted by it, or by the ex-Gaekwad's adherents, G. V. Joshi tried, through the branch *Sabhas,* to incite the prepared minds of the Sardars and Ryots for a general insurrection. It's Brahman members engineered the agrarian riots. In order to pretend that it was not indulging in subversive activities, the *Sabha* decided to send a memorial of thanks to the Government for ensuring a well conducted native rule in Baroda.[90] A *Poshak* was proposed to be sent to the new Gaekwad, notwithstanding that only a few days previously the Princes were addressed by it for promoting the ex-Gaekwad's cause.[90] After suspecting K. N. Sukul as a spy, to vindicate loyalty, the *Sabha* suspended it's meetings and announced in the papers that all that was said by it was out of goodwill, love of justice, truth and patriotism.[91] Raja Sir Dinkar Rao agreed to advise it privately, the Government having become suspicious even of it's most devoted subjects.[92]

The *Sabha's* members were considered as dangerous. A sub-Committee of it called *Aikyavardhini Sabha* held Sunday meeting for discussing national uplift matters, appeals of the ex-Gaekwad and Sadashiv Rao in the Parliament etc. The risks taken for the ex-Gaekwad and the public were to be compensated by the large princely donations for the former's help. Malhar Rao's case they knew to be hopeless.[93] Another sub-Committee, the *Vaktrittotejak Sabha,* meeting half-yearly, encouraged public speaking on the general evils of the country and their remedies.[94] Poona's nineteen *peths* (zones) were sub-divided into a number of *Alis* (localities). These *Alis* had "Clubs" (societies), twenty of which had been set-up by July 3, 1875, with a membership fee per head of four to sixteen annas, for promoting social good, unity and love for Swadeshi goods.

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[87] Letter Nos. 6, 22, 72.

[88] Letter No. 46.

[89] Letter Nos. 43, 51.

[90] Letter No. 16.

[91] Letter No. 38.

[92] Letter Nos. 46, 52.

[93] Letter Nos. 21, 52, 57.

[94] Letter No. 81. Phadke recollects that it met in a house near G. V. Joshi's Vishnu temple [Joshi, V. S., *Vasudeo Balvant Phadke (First Indian Rebel against British Rule)*, p. 25 (Bombay, 1959)].

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These *Ali* clubs were branches of the *Sarvajanik Sabha*.[95] There were district branches at Ahmednagar and Satara. The former had over seven hundred members and a Parsi President; the latter, with a good hold in the neighbourhood, was presided over by Krishna Rao Mahajane.[96]

The Marathas of the Bombay Presidency were "in the habit of delivering sermons" on political subjects under the garb of *Kathas* and *Kirtans,* with songs and poems composed for the occasions, to the accompaniment of music and instruments.[97] Some of the lectures and Kirtankars and their subjects are mentioned in this correspondence.[98]

NATIONALIST IDEAS IN THE DECCAN

Sir Richard Temple remarks that the Maharashtra Brahmans will "learn much from us and may even acquire new faculties; for all that, as a race, they will retain their individuality".[98a] In the eighteen seventies liberal political ideas were current in the flowering Deccan. One foremost thought among the leaders was the social and economic improvement of this

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[95] Letter No. 53.

[96] Letter Nos. 31, 66.

[97] Letter No. 11. B. G. Tilak reached the masses through the national festivals of Ganesh Chaturthi and Shivaji. See, Shay, Theodore L, *The Legacy of the Lokamanya : The Political Philosophy of Bal Gangadhar Tilak,* pp. 73-4, 76 (Bombay, 1956).

[98] The following programmes are mentioned :—

May 25, 1875 : "Unity and Commerce of India". A lecture by Pt. Vishnu Parushuram Shastri . He lectured twice a month in Bombay, in Kibe's wadi (Tapkirgalli) and Prarthanasamaj, and once a month at Poona in the Assembly's Halls. (Letter Nos. 11, 27, 43).

Between May 25 and 30, 1875 : "Hindu Union". Same subject. Lectures by K. N. Phadke and N. S. Risbood, in Phadkewadi, Budhwarpeth. (Letter No. 16).

June 3rd week, 1875 : "Advantages of Union" and "Use of Country made cloth". A lecture by G. V. Joshi at the Khunia Murlidhar temple, Sadashivpeth, Poona (Letter No. 46).

June 29, 1875. "The causes of Adversity in India and the Remedies thereof", "The State of Agriculture and Commerce in India, and the means of improving them". Lecturers by N. V. Date in the *Hindu Club* (Letter Nos. 51, 52).

July 3, 1875 : Lecture on national problems by a Shastri (subject and name not ascertainable here). At the Vishnu temple of G. V. Joshi, Poona (Letter No. 65).

August 6, 1875 : "Union". A lecture by Dayanand Saraswati, at Bhatwadekar's House, Poona (Letter No. 79).

MOFFUSIL

Before June 10, 1875 : (1) "Advantages of General Co-operation in furthering everthing calculated to be of material good to the country". (2) "Uses of opening annual public exhibition of goods of every description manufactured in this country". Lectures by G. V. Joshi, at the *Sabha's* Ahmednagar branch (Letter No. 31).

[98a] Temple, Sir Richard: *Men and Events of My Time in India,* p. 497.

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country. In a speech, during February 1873, Mahadev Govind Ranade, while acknowledging that, unlike England, this country could not produce choice machine made goods, exhorted the people of Poona to devote their energies for the National progress and lamented that slowly our country became a crippled nation looking for aid to the foreign countries.[99] Again Indian patriotism had been roused by the peremptory deposition of the ex-Gaekwad, whom the Resident even suspected of formenting disloyalty in the Deccan, and other aggrievances like agrarian discontent, proselytising activities of the Missionaries, epidemics, etc.[100] The *Sarvajanik Sabha* took up the issues. The moderates in it, like M. G. Ranade, advised against showing open disloyalty in speeches and actions.[101] But extremists, like Vasudev Balwant Phadke, on the other hand, preferred to oust the British from India by a general revolution.[102] V. B. Phadke, a Government Clerk in the office of the Controller of Military Pensions, Poona, soon started a struggle for freedom and made propaganda in the nearby villages. In Poona he heralded his speeches by the beat of a *thali* and a rod : "All should come to the Shanwarwada grounds this evening. *Our Country must be free. The English must be driven out.* The ways and means of doing it, I'll explain in my speech". In another harangue he said : "*Your ills will not disappear without Independence and Swaraj for your country*".[103] Phadke was one of those who despaired of achieving independence by constitutional means.[104]

Others imbued with patriotic motives were not lagging behind. Sukul's correspondence reveals that in 1875 the following distinct nationalist ideas were pervading the Deccan :

(1) The Rule was unpopular

The entire educated class was dissatisfied with the Government, evincing ungratefulness and enmity.[105] In the Deccan, and nowhere else, the elite became so hostile to the Rule as to

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[99] Phatak, N. R. *Arvachin Maharashtrantil Saha Thor Purush : Nyayamurti Mahadev Govind Ranade Yanche Charitra,* p. 200 (Bombay, 1950).

[100] Joshi, V. S. *Vasudeo Balvant Phadke,* p. 32.

[101] Letter Nos. 16, 52, M. G. Ranade was Judge and also Agent of the Government to the Deccan Sardars and he privately advised the Sardars as above in view of the mounting criticism of the *Sabha's* activities.

[102] Joshi, V. S., *op. cit.,* p. 30.

[103] Phadke, Umabai, *Memoirs of Baisaheb Phadke* (Marathi), cited in Joshi, V. S., *op. cit.,* pp. 30-31. Italics ours.

[104] Joshi, V. S., *ibid,* pp. 29, 32.

[105] Letter No. 25.

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'wish it's extinction", notwithstanding that it owed everything to the British, including the *"mode of reasoning"*. The generality wished ill of the Government, for instance raising a 'Second Mutiny'.[106] Popular inactivity in not at once doing away with the "obnoxious Rule" was much lamented by the enthusias's.[107] The Rule was "oppressive and crushing".[108] The new Tariff Act, 1875, was most tyrannical to the poor. Ready to do anything for money, except betraying their own countrymen, the Deccanis had cultivated a hardness of mind against anything foreign.[109] If a street urchin were asked how he liked the British Rule, he replied that he was "sick of it". Indeed the whole city of Poona openly manifested it's discontent.[110]

The people were most disloyal. Sponsors of the *Sarvajanik Sabha* tried to gild their seditious sentiments when they suspected the presence of a Government secret agent in Poona.[111] But the Marathas, all and everywhere, were ill-wishers of the British Government.[112] On August 15, 1875, in a private meeting held in the Varanasi palace, the Maharaja of Vizianagaram said that "very few" people were pleased with the British Government.[113] In the same town many people appeared very jubilant on hearing that the Russians were preparing to attack Kabul and their next target was India, which the British prized.[114]

(2) The British were exploiting this country

Since their advent, the British slowly dispossessed those that helped them, became sovereigns of more than three-fourths territory, monopolised the trade and plundered above half of this country's produce. They were thus 'bleeding' our country. The people were reduced to misery under the "much praised British Rule". India now lost all her wealth.[115] The first British favours were thorns concealed under the roses, and the results thereof left India entirely deprived and destitute in a most imperceptible manner.[116] The unjust and costly settlement in the Bombay Presidency threw the agricultural class into a state of complete poverty and misery. At the same time in ninety per cent cases the assets of the British had doubled and

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[106] Letter No. 9.
[107] Letter Nos. 19, 81.
[108] Letter No. 11.
[109] Letter No. 23.
[110] Letter No. 65.
[111] Letter Nos. 38, 71.
[112] Letter No. 63.
[113] Letter No. 81.
[114] Letter No. 74.
[115] Letter Nos. 9, 11.
[116] Letter No. 31.

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even trebled.[117] The tyrannical Tariff Act was detrimental to the indigenous cloth manufactures, as the legislation was enacted to please the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, which pressed for the abolition of duties on cloth manufactured in this country.[118]

(3) Unity was essential for achieving the Freedom of India

For a millennium India was the target of foreign aggression, in the course of which she declined from her once envious position as the World's most civilised country. Her people became heedless, idle, proud, jealous and, above all, disunited. Ultimately under the British with the loss of her "far spoken wealth she was treated worse than a nation of slaves".[119]

The people had learnt from the British rudiments of everything worth knowing, which could fairly be improved upon. Why then could they not aspire to be a "Free Nation" ? The large expenditure by the people on superstitious beliefs had to be utilised for the purposes of achieving the "Freedom of India", as suggested by the *Sarvajanik Sabha* long ago.[120]

The real motives of the British in India were evident to "every lover of India and it's Independence". Therefore the people were asked to wake up from their slumber, think and decide to be united. The protagonists of India's liberty held that the people must "feel themselves to become of one purpose, heart and soul" and make one last decisive attempt to have the great pleasure of seeing the British expelled from this country or perish in this attempt, with the satisfaction of entrusting this work to others for it's consummation. Such was the "sacred and pious attempt to free this country from the oppressive and crushing foreign Yoke". In this task the "whole India" needed to dutifully 'combine'. By a "Union of mind" the British had to be frightened in order to make them quit this "bleeding" country or be annihilated in the alternative.[121] The establishment of their "Own Rule" was envisaged by some patriots.[122] The goal of freedom was proposed to be achieved by an armed revolt. The *Sabha* was busy in enlisting the support of the aggrieved agriculturists.[123] The princes were called upon to form a union for opposing the British. The troops of Hindustan were expected to join.[124] And in the Deccan itself attempts were

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[117] Letter Nos. 9, 11.
[118] Letter No. 80.
[119] Letter No. 11.
[120] Letter No. 19.
[121] Letter No. 11.
[122] Letter No. 65.
[123] Letter Nos. 9, 11, 19, 35, 43.
[124] Letter No. 69.

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made to wean the Government troops by offering to them reward and the title of "Liberator of their country from Foreign Rule".[125]

THE PRINCES' CONCORD

Tukoji Rao Holkar II, the Maharaja of Indore, prevailed upon Jayaji Rao Shinde, the Maharaja of Gwalior, Maharaja Ram Singh of Jaipur and Raja Sir Dinkar Rao to report favourably about Malhar Rao for obliging the ex-Gaekwad for his intercession or else bring the Government displeasure on the three chiefs whom he envied. When this was done, the chiefs were disgraced as the Government acted according to it's sweet-will without heeding their opinion. Holkar got gratified that the Government was sore with them and the ex-Gaekwad was also ruined. Shinde later sent Krishna Rao Jathar to Simla to ascertain the views of the Viceroy, Secretaries and members of his Council regarding himself and his opinion in the Baroda case.[126]

The *Sarvajanik Sabha* was attempting to unite the country against the British. With a similar object it addressed Shinde, Holkar and all other great and small Rajas, Maharajas and Chiefs of India to take courage and "be of one mind" in not placing the least confidence in the British Government and assisting mutually, at all risks, in the Great Emergency, wherein they were to contribute with money and arms for ensuring Malhar Rao's reinstatement. The *Sabha* sent a private letter to nearly all the great Rajas of India urging them in this behalf. This letter was published in the papers.[127] The *Sabha* also proposed to send private emissaries to the Indian Durbars soliciting their dutiful aid for enabling Malhar Rao to receive justice in the Parliament. The Princes were assured that their timely and brotherly assistance would be maintained as perfect secrecy, their donations being handed over to Malhar Rao's agents as if emanating from the public.[128] All the independent and semi-independent Rajas were advised "to become of one mind" and join each other hereafter in all offensive and defensive measures that they may have to take against their common foe, the British, for "the good of the country", and the rehabilitation of their already lost and nominal liberty.[129] The Government since some years was trying to crush the people and planning imper-

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[125] Letter No. 35.

[126] Letter Nos. 1, 54 and 75.

[127] Letter Nos. 6, 16, 71, 84. Letters were also addressed to the Maharajas of Rewa and Panna (Letter Nos. 83 and 88).

[128] Letter No. 52.

[129] Letter No. 71.

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ceptibly to annex all the petty principalities.[130] Those that helped had been dispossessed and the sovereignty of the country captured and even those, that a little while ago, had been called as valuable brothers and friends would not be spared now.[131] Dilating upon the advantages of the 'Union', Holkar and the Jaipur ruler were addressed by the *Sabha*, urging that the present juncture was very good; they ought to assemble other petty chiefs in their capitals, when the Prince of Wales was invited there, on the plea of paying joint homage to their future sovereign, but in reality for the purposes of an offensive and defensive co-operation and forming an "Eternal Union" in their common cause against their common enemy.[132] In this meeting the inmost desire of the British regarding the future treatment of the native landed nobility, an insight into their own future, advantages of their 'Union' etc. had to be impressed upon the assembled rulers, and with a vessel of the Ganga water in their hands they were to take an oath *"to be of one mind in all pursuits having same thing of general interest as their aim and join without any hypocrisy or reserve in all designs of offensive or defensive"*.[133]

Ever since the disapproval by the Government of their report the three Indian Chiefs very silently considered the effects of their folly and attempted to ingratiate themselves into the favourable notice of the Viceroy. Their attempts being unsuccessful, Sir Dinkar Rao finally advised them "to strengthen their own Union and thus frighten Government."[134] Accordingly much activity in this connection was observed. Shinde's long established convention of not visiting any other Durbar was broken. In 1874 he visited Holkar at Indore, in spite of all objections of his courtiers. Early in 1875 he visited the Nawab of Rampur.[135] The sojourn in Rampur is confirmed by one of his letters, dated June 5, 1875, addressed to Syed Mohammad Kalbe Ali Khan, the Nawab of Rampur, which runs as follows : "The kind expression of your Highness' amicable good feelings towards me as indicated in your letter have strengthened more the bonds of friendship with which we are bound together—and afforded me such infinite pleasure that neither tongue has power to express nor pen to write. My thoughts also often recur to me to the happy hours I passed

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[130] Letter No. 53.

[131] Letter No. 11.

[132] Letter No. 72.

[133] Letter No. 87.

[134] Letter No. 71.

[135] Letter No. 77.

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during my visit to you at your metropolis. With the exception of this it is my fervent prayer to God that he may bring such day again whereupon we may enjoy the pleasure of seeing each other and enliven our mutual feelings. This my valued friend, depends merely on chance". Another letter, dated June 9, 1875, of Jayaji Rao expressed to the Nawab of Rampur among other details, sentiments of friendship with which they were bound together.[136] Before mid-August, Shinde "most unexpectedly" visited Jaipur, on the advice of Sir Dinkar Rao. From there a week later, he visited Ajmer and then Pushkar, on pilgrimage, possibly also for meeting some other Rajas or corresponding with them in their vicinity.[137]

A SECOND MUTINY INVOKED

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Deccan was seething with political and social discontent. The causes thereof were the partiality, avarice, and determined hatred of the natives by the British. The country was being depleted of it's wealth, which was in fact their 'political plunder'. They were slowly liquidating the Princes. An over-assessment occurring in the presidency after the late land revenue settlement was woeful to the peasants. In the series of grievances, the last straw was the Baroda misfortune, which the people did not accept with grace.

The *Sarvajanik Sabha* already spearheaded a movement to expel or annihilate the British. English educated youths, wishing a Second Mutiny to occur, opined that if only the Hindusthani troops agreed to strike, the Deccanis would rise to a man for extirpating the foreigners.[138] The report of the proposed adoption of the new child Gaekwad led to prayers for a Second Mutiny.[139] The *Sabha* supported Malhar Rao, appealed for help to the Princes and tried to seduce the Government troops for their object.[140] Soldiers on furlough reported that the feelings of the troops were identical as those a month or two before the last Mutiny and the least cause would forthwith lead to a Second Mutiny. The troops sympathised with the fate of Malhar Rao, said that the injustice done to him was apparent and even visualised that no independent Raja would be spared by the British.[141] Disbanding some of the Gaekwadi troops

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[136] State Archives of U. P., Allahabad, Government collection of the erstwhile Rampur State records. These documents in Persian, bear Shinde's signature in Marathi.

[137] Letter No. 9.

[138] Letter No. 9.

[139] Letter Nos. 1, 29.

[140] Letter Nos. 3, 49.

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made them afraid that one day their own fate would be jeopardised.[142] The Ryots were encouraged to create disturbances. At the end of May 1875, the en ire Deccan was on the tip-toe of rising, the Sardars and Ryots being indocrinated by the *Sabha* and it's branches, under the inspiration of G. V. Joshi. A rebel Sardar of the Bhils and Kalya, the headman of the Ramoshis, were instigated to rise.[143]

Disturbances were expected to occur on any of the following occasions—the deposition of Malhar Rao, installation of the new Gaekwad and succession, if any, of Sadashiv Rao.[144] The *Sabha* wrote to the troops in the Deccan and Gujarat cantonments and despatched secret agents with offers of rewards and titles for successful co-operation on behalf of Malhar Rao. Influential men were attempting to mislead the troops.[145] Money for gratifying the troops immediately and for purposes of a future campaign was necessary, as also a capable leader to command them. The army men could not wait for six months or a year. Malhar Rao's adherents importuned Sadashiv Rao to lead the troops. When he refused, they went to Surat, where the outbreak was obviously to start, lamented the loss of a capital leader (Sadashiv Rao), swore mutual fidelity and fixed upon Narayan Rao (Nana Saheb or Anna Saheb) Mane, as the next leader. Next day they discussed with five or six leading men of the Government troops, whom a couple of Poona pensioners had called, and discussing the future plan, gave them funds for distribution, making them pledge sincerity for remaining true, at any risk, to the cause. The machinations for creating a Second Mutiny fell through, as the Government took precautions and the troops could not be seduced for mutinying. It appears that the troops were only mulcting Malhar Rao's adherents, without any serious intention, as they were well aware of their own ruin in the action and the strength of the British.[146]

THE AGRARIAN RIOTS

Increase in the realisation of revenue in the new Settlement of the Bombay presidency, all over, generally annoyed the agriculturists. They were unable to meet the dual exactions of the Government and the Mahajans. In vain the *Sarvajanik Sabha* protested and petitioned in the matter to the Government. Exasperated at last it started an agitation in the Press and con-

[142] Letter Nos. 3, 49.
[143] Letter Nos. 46, 71.
[144] Letter Nos. 7, 19.
[145] Letter No. 51.
[146] Letter Nos. 33, 53, 57.

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vened public meetings to devise plans for the elimination of this hardship. The Ryots took legal action against the Government, under the *Sabha's* advice, but this was ineffective. The *Sabha*, anticipating that the distracted Ryots would form a good appendage of the Second Mutiny, which was proposed to be invoked, urged them "to make *open disturbances*". The Brahman members of the *Sabha* instigated the agrarian riots.[147]

About June 20, 1875, the disturbances were much on the increase in the country around Poona, Ahmednagar and other districts. In the villages the rioters robbed, committed arson, cut-off the noses and ears of the Marwaris, burnt their account books and ejected the usurers. In one village bonds valued fifteen thousand rupees surrendered forcibly by the Mahajans were destroyed at once. Sometimes above five thousand rioters could be seen. Government tried to quell the agitation, but when put down in one place it appeared elsewhere. The Poona Police force was increased by eight hundred and fifty men. Rioters were rounded up daily. The Sabha, through it's Select Committee, wrote secretly to K. R. Mahajane to excite the Ryots of Satara for freeing themselves of the Marwari indebtedness.[148]

In view of the tension, it was hoped that the Government would ultimately reduce the rates of assessment.[149] But firm action for meeting the situation appeared necessary. With the troops misled by influential men, the minds of the public excited by the *Sabha* in different ways, these *"mock disturbances"* of the Ryots, however insignificant, occurring daily, would give a secret impetus to the three factors under some pretext to throw-off the veil of duties to the Government". This eventuality would one day up-set the administration, which it would not be easy to set right.[150] In the first week of August, 1875 the prompt measures of the police retarded the intended agrarian disturbances in the Sholapur district.[151]

In this connection it may be noted that in the Western Ghats, towards the direction of Mahabaleshwar and Matheran probably, a rebel leader self-styled as Shivaji II, "addressed challenges to the Government, offered a reward of Rs.500 for the head of H. E. Sir Richard Temple (then Governor of Bombay),

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[147] Letter Nos. 35, 43, 48.
[148] Letter Nos. 43, 66.
[149] Letter No. 66.
[150] Letter No. 51.
[151] Letter No. 78.

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and *claimed to lead a national revolt upon the lines on which the Mahratta power had originally been founded*".[152]

The agrarian riots commenced in 1874 and practically fizzled out by mid-September 1875.[153]

THE SWADESHI CULT

Economic nationalism manifested itself in this period. In January 1873, G. V. Joshi took a vow to use Swadeshi goods, for fostering which he started a business. Accordingly he wore handspun rough cloth or Khaddar, an action which inspired the youngsters.[154] Still there were some who had become degenerate by setting aside "nationality and natural ties", imitating the "English in everything, however shocking they may look in them", as also purchasing provisions from English shops at enhanced cost, depriving their countrymen of profits.[155] In June 1875, the *Sarvajanik Sabha* held a session at the Khunia Murlidhar temple, Poona, a thousand members being present. G. V. Joshi explained to them the significance of the Union which was *"so much required in India"* and proposed that those members who recently decided to wear country manufactured cloths and goods, in preference to English, were to swear formally for this purpose. Accordingly above four hundred persons took an oath never again to use any European goods.[156]

During a visit to Ahmednagar, in connection with addressing the *Sabha*'s branch, G. V. Joshi spoke on the advantages of inaugurating in different places annual public exhibitions of goods of every description manufactured in this country. A day later the artisans and manufacturers of the place and vicinity, numbering about nine hundred, were called for talks. Local committees were formed for encouraging and taking interest in the manufactures.[157] Earlier, in 1875, the *Sarvajanik Sabha*

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[152] W. Wedderburn to A. O. Hume, cited in the *History and Culture of the Indian People—British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, Pt. I, p. 940, Ed. R C. Majumdar, A. K. Majumdar and D. K. Ghose (Bombay, 1963). Wedderburn also wrote : "The forecast of trouble throughout India was in exact accordance with what actually occurred under my own observation in the Bombay presidency, in connection with the agrarian rising known as the Deccan Riots". It cannot be made out if the Bhil leader Shivaji II was the same who wrote to the Raja of Panna. (Letter No. 71).

[153] See *Report of the Commission on the Riots in the Poona and Ahmednagar* (Bombay, 1876) ; *East India (Deccan Riots Commission). Report of the Commission appointed in India to inquire into the causes of the riots which took place in the year* 1875, *in the Poona and Ahmednagar Districts of the Bombay presidency* (London, 1878).

[154] Joshi, V. S., *Vasudeo Balvant Phadke*, p. 25.

[155] Letter No. 11.

[156] Letter No. 46.

[157] Letter No. 31.

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opened the New Poona Exhibition of country made articles. This industrial exhibition was intended to be held every year.[158]

SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL LIFE

Poona was a splendid city, but the most dangerous place in India.[159] The people were greatly disgruntled with the British Government.[160] K. N. Sukul's description of them was uncharitable, which was not strange as he was only a Government *prashastikara*.[161] The City Library, in Budhwarpeth, Poona, was the venue of daily gatherings, from 5—9 p.m. of the educated elite. Here, reading the latest papers, they discussed the administrative policies, a Second Mutiny and like matters, vociferously making much ado about everything and nothing, which, in the last analysis, could "turn the minds of millions".[162]

The Vernacular Press wielded great local influence. G. V. Joshi was the editor of *Prabhat Patrika*, the universally read one pice Marathi daily. Joshi was also co-editor of the paper *Shivaji*. Another bi-weekly, the *Dnyan Prakash*, was widely read, the public standing in fours and fives to read the news sheet hung on it's office doors. These papers were free, fearless and abusive and some of their editorials, as in the *Prabhat Patrika*, sought to explode the public minds.[163]

The Brahmans, whom Sukul always called wrongly as Marathas (instead of Maharashtra), were in five divisions—Deshastha, Karada, Rigvedi, Chitpavan and Yajurvedi. Among these, the Chitpavans were very intelligent and diplomatic. Jayaji Rao Shinde dismissed many of these from his service and ear-marked others as men "never to be trusted", being wiser by Damodar Pant's perfidy.[164] In Poona there were two sections of the Brahmans—the orthodox type of traditional Vedic learning and customs; and the enlightened Hindus or Social Reformers (*Sudharleli Mandali*). There were constant frictions between them.[165]

Sukul's statement that in the Deccan men found it difficult to get married, due to poverty, and thousands died as bachelors, appeared far fetched.[166]

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[158] Letter No. 16.
[159] Letter Nos. 57, 65.
[160] Letter Nos. 57, 63, 65, 71.
[161] Letter Nos. 20, 23, 29, 35, 50, 52, 57, 63.
[162] Letter Nos. 9, 13.
[163] Letter Nos. 19, 49, 53.
[164] Letter No. 77.
[165] Letter Nos. 15, 81.
[166] Letter No. 46.

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Widow marriage was introduced in the Deccan by Pandit Vishnu Parushuram Shastri who himself married a widow.[167]

Kirtans and *Kathas*, especially as political stimuli, were organised with eclat. Festivals like *Nagpanchami* were also chosen for such occasions. The *Rakshabandan* was observed in Oudh. Reciting prayers for the welfare of the ex-ruler of Baroda, in a specially built temple of Vishnu, is mentioned.[168]

The concept of public good, according to the *Ali* clubs, included issuing publications for public use, conducting or defending suits instituted by or against any of the members and assisting respectable families in distress.[169]

A horrid practice is recorded how on the suspicious death of a former popular Dewan, the ruler of Baroda and others rejoiced and distributed sweets and a gold Mohur each to two thousand Brahmans.[170]

Saints like Swami Maharaj of Akkalkot were consulted by eminent men for solving political problems. In the N. W. P. it was believed that Prince Albert Victor, the Prince of Wales, would be crowned as the Emperor of Hindusthan near the Iron Pillar, at Kutub Minar in Mehrauli, Delhi.[171]

The impending visit of the Prince of Wales produced sharp reactions. In Poona the people bewailed the financial loss they would incur on his arrival. The expenses were discussed in the papers. It was argued that such hospitality was useless, as similar courtesies were not shown to Indian Princes while in England.[172] In Varanasi however the citizens were very happy and impatient for the auspicious visit. They decided to light up and adorn the town in a new manner instead of the old mode of illuminating the streets and ghats.[173] The Maharaja of Vizianagaram feared for the personal safety of the royal visitors. But in his palace, preparations were afoot for the Prince's reception, with houses white washed and servants provided with brilliant new liveries.[174]

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[167] Letter No. 11. This fact of Pandit Vishnu Shastri's first marrying a widow and inaugurating widow marriage appears to be incorrect. On June 16, 1869, Pandurang Karmarkar was married the widow Venu Paranjpe. See, Parvate, T. V., *Mahadev Govind Ranade*, p. 49.

[168] Letter Nos. 11, 54, 79.

[169] Letter No. 53.

[170] Letter No. 75. The attending physician was the celebrated orientalist Dr. Bhau Daji of Bombay.

[171] Letter No. 77.

[172] Letter Nos. 54, 69, 81.

[173] Letter No. 69.

[174] Letter Nos. 81, 84.

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Cholera had broken out in some parts of India. In May a weak type of it daily took the toll of ten to twenty lives in Poona. It was also in Surat.[175] A good deal of the sickness was due here to the change of climate from the plains. The worst day had passed, but the epidemic persisted, till in the second week of August 1875 it disappeared from Simla.[176] It also prevailed in Ambala[177].

In July of this year it rained heavily at Simla and Poona.[178] The downpour in Varanasi and it's neighbourhood for six days, from July 30, was so heavy that the Ganga was in full spate, with three-fourths of the town inundated. Railway traffic passing through Varanasi was diverted from Mughalsarai. The oldest inhabitants had not witnessed such high floods, which exceeded all previous flood levels. A large number of houses, including those of K. N. Sukul, collapsed and needed repairs. Government offices remained closed for four days, as they became inaccessible due to the flood waters. Many people became sick due to the damp atmosphere of the ravage.[179] Allahabad town was in the greatest danger of being literally submerged, if it's protecting bund was least damaged. Here too the flood level had crossed the danger-mark.

On August 3, 1875 a public meeting was held in Budhwar-peth, Poona, to protest against the Municipal levy of water cess. The meeting was divided, as some of the prominent citizens, like Mahadev Govind Ranade, would not sign the representation, being Government servants.[181]

The economic drain was protested against. The British had monopolised the trade. Frequent royal visits depleted this country of much money and valuables. The new unjust Tariff Act, 1875, was eclipsing all the local trades and manufactures.[182]

SOME EMINENT MEN

Sukul's correspondence mentions, among other matters, the following important persons :

(1) Mahadev Govind Ranade

He was the Judge in the Judge's Court, the Principal Sadar Amin, at Poona. Against his advice, a public petition was sent

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[175] Letter Nos. 3, 40.

[176] Letter Nos. 62, 64, 67, 68, 76, 86.

[177] Letter No. 76.

[178] Letter Nos. 67, 69.

[179] Letter No. 74.

[180] Letter No. 73.

[181] Letter No. 78.

[182] Letter Nos. 11, 54, 80.

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to the Government, which created the Viceroy's displeasure. As Judge, he was *ex officio* agent of Government to the Sardars of the Deccan. In an earlier meeting, over which he presided, the Sardars were told by him privately to refrain from displaying, in words and deeds, open disloyalty against the Supreme Government. Ranade refused to sign a public petition against the municipal levy of water-tax. He attended the meetings of the *Aikyavardhini Sabha*. Foremost in all public matters, he was the Head Brahmo of the Bombay presidency, Head of the Social Reformers (*Sudharleli Mandali*) and President of the Hindu Club. It is said that he was the greatest enemy of Government and a great promoter of disaffection against Government. His party and the orthodox group held divergent views on social reform. Dayanand Sarasvati was invited by him to preach against idolatry.[183]

(2) Vishnu Shastri Pandit

Pandit Vishnu Parushuram Shastri was the editor of the *Indu Prakash*, an Anglo-Marathi daily of Bombay, devoted to social reform, founded in 1862. M. G. Ranade contributed to it from November 23, 1862 to March 23, 1863. Vishnu Shastri Pandit was also the proprietor of this paper. An ardent nationalist, he made strong anti-Government tirades. He was an important social reformer and advocated widow remarriage, which he confirmed by marrying a widow. With G. V. Joshi, he was the chief supporter of the *Sarvajanik Sabha*. He was very famous in the Bombay presidency, especially for his first rate oratorical powers. Ranade was his personal friend.[184]

(3) Ganesh Vasudev Joshi

He, with Vishnu Shastri, was the principal mover in all affairs of the *Sarvajanik Sabha*. Sukul said that he was the great genius of the presidency and founder of the *Sabha*. He proposed to visit Bengal, North Western Provinces and the Punjab, for founding similar *Sabhas* as, so far, his efforts had failed. He promoted the Swadeshi movement. The *Prabhat Patrika* was edited by him and of the *Shivaji* he was the co-editor. He was "the best friend of the country and promoter of public good". He was the *Sarvajanik Kaka*. Ranade and he invited Dayanand

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[183] Letter Nos. 1, 2, 16, 78, 79, 81, 50, 69, 59. It is said that the memorial was drafted by him on January 15, 1875, being approved in a public meeting of three thousand men. Ranade suggested that the Government was viewing the *Sabha* with suspicion and hence the memorial could be sent after the disturbances subsided. But meanwhile the *Sabha* went to the Gaekwad's help (Parvate, *ob. cit.*, pp. 80, 88). For Ranade's history of Government service, *vide India office List for* 1891, etc. p. 309.

[184] Letter Nos. 11, 18, 20, 25, Parvate, *op. cit.*, pp. 47, 123.

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Sarasvati and bore the latter's expenses. But he was also a protagonist of the orthodox group, as he advocated a Vedic School. In a meeting at Satara he said that Dayanand Sarasvati was wrong in asserting that our religion did not permit idolatry.[185]

(4) Krishna Shastri Chiplunkar

Chiplunkar was a member of the committee formed by M. G. Ranade, at Nasik, for scrutinising manuscripts for publications on history, science, social reform, biography, etc. A society for this purpose functioned for some years. He was a social reformer sharing the feelings and views of the editors of the papers, whose views he did not report. He was the Government Reporter on the Native Press in the Bombay presidency. He was an active member of the *Sabha* and the papers were it's organs; he never reported any of their comments on the Baroda trial; he was a great friend of Vishnu Shastri, and both belonged to the same caste.[186]

(5) Krishna Rao Gadgil

Krishna Rao, the IVth Master in the Government High School, Poona, was an able and spirited youth.[187] He was a failure in the L. A. (Intermediate), "a great English poet". A staunch nationalist and anti-British, he was privy to all machinations of the Marathas.

(6) Swami Dayanand Sarasvati

From May 1867 to October 1869, Swami Dayanand Sarasvati, a Vedic unitarian and an outstanding dialectician, preached anti-idolatry on the Ganga banks in the North Western Provinces and vanquished mighty savants in *Shastrartha*. Then reaching Kashi, on October 22/23, 1869, he began delivering his fiery gospel to the students and sanyasis. When the Kashi Naresh heard this, he advised the Kashi Pundits to engage and defeat Dayanand Sarasvati in a disputation. Accordingly on Tuesday, November 16, 1869, in the Ramnagar palace, was held the debate on *Vedonse murti puja sthapit ki jave*. It's result was questioned, some, including K. N. Sukul, asserting that Dayanand Sarasvati was defeated and left Kashi; while others aver that he was victorious and stayed in Kashi for another three more months. In 1874 he went to Bombay. The *Arya Samaj* was established

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[185] Letter Nos. 25, 31, 81, 75.

[186] Letter Nos. 13, 26, Parvate, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[187] Letter Nos. 9, 13.

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by him there on April 10, 1875.[188] In the Framji Cowasji Institute there, he defeated in dialectics Swami Kunwalnayan Acharya. M. G. Ranade and G. V. Joshi, invited Dayanand Swami to Poona to protect the *Sudharleli Mandali* from the attacks of the orthodox group, and even accepted him as their *Guru*. He delivered fifteen lectures in the Hindu Club, two of which were heard by K. N. Sukul. About five hundred men were converted by him, before August 1875, and he hoped to establish in Poona an *Arya Samaj*. As very great crowds heard him, fearing that the few who clung to the old tenets would also be lost, the orthodox section planned to establish *Sabhas* at Poona, Satara, Nasik, Wai, Pandharpur, Sholapur, etc., to help in challenging Dayanand Sarasvati in a *Shastrartha*. G. V. Joshi held for this a meeting in Satara on July 18, 1875. The orthodox members intended to establish a Vedic School in Poona for educating the social reformers and the public in Vedic studies, which was essential to understand the aphorisms, etc., used by the Swami. A public donation of Rs.3,000 or so was raised on August 16, 1875, but M. G. Ranade, M. R. Kunte, K. S. Chiplunkar, the chief social reformers opposed the scheme. Upon this the Shastris and some high officials abused the social reformers and, a pandemonium ensuing, the latter quit the scene. Dayanand Sarasvati lectured daily in the Diwankhana of Bhide, in front of Belbagh, Budhwarpeth. On September 10, 1875, a farewell and a procession were arranged for Dayanand Sarasvati, on the conclusion of his lectures. But Ram Dikshit Shastri, the Chief of the Shastris, and others of the orthodox group marred this by a counter demonstration, in which a donkey was carried, as the Swami, with the appellation of Gardabhanand. M. G. Ranade asked for police help during the demonstrations.

I express my obligations to many who have helped me in presenting this book to the public. To Sri Lakshmi Kant Nagar, I.A.S., Director of the Department of Cultural Affairs and Scientific Research, U. P., I am indebted for acceding to write a preface. I am also deeply obliged to the following for loaning their rare books to me from time to time—Professor, S. C. Deb, Honorary Secretary, Allahabad Public Library, Allahabad; the Librarian of the National Library, Calcutta; the Librarian of the University

[188] For Dayanand Sarasvati's account see Letter Nos. 60, 69, 81. His sojourn in Bombay is referred to by Shyamaji Krishna Varma, *vide* Yajnik, Indulal, *Shyamaji Krishna Varma*, p. 17 (Bombay, 1950). Regarding the date of the debate in the Ramnagar Palace, see Upadhyaya, Ganga Prasad, *Philosophy of Dayananda*, p. 1 (Allahabad, 1955). For Dayanand's activities in general read Lajpat Rai, Lala, *Maharshi Swami Dayanand Sarasvati aur unka kam*, pp. 109, 148—159 (1st edition, Lahore, 1898. Hindi translation by G. D. Sharma, New Delhi, not dated; Natarajan, S., *A Century of Social Reform in India*, pp. 71—73 (Bombay, 1959). Varma, V. P., *Modern Indian Political Thought*, pp. 41, 46—59 (Agra, 1964); Heimsath, Charles, H, *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform*, pp. 114—125. Ramabai Ranade relates how in the Diwankhana of Bhide, Dayanand Swami lectured; M. G. Ranade attended them daily for about two and half hours and made the necessary arrangements; the incident of Gardabhanand is then mentioned. Ramabai Ranade, *Amchya Ayushyantil, etc.*, pp. 50—52.

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Library, Bombay and Librarian of the Central State Library, Allahabad. I am equally grateful to the Superintendent of Government Printing and Stationery, U. P., Allahabad, and his staff for the keen interest evinced in this publication. The staff of this office has also gladly helped me at many stages of the book. Sri Girish Chandra Joshi, Technical Assistant of this office, has looked after this book and prepared the index with enthusiasm.

ALLAHABAD :
Dated March 1, 1968.

G. N. SALETORE,
Keeper of Archives, U. P. and
Secretary, U. P. Regional Records Survey
Committee.

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Poona, 18th May, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,

INSPECTOR-GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY DEPARTMENT, SIMLA,

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

NOT having seen my man Ram Bhau at Nynee I went straight to Benares, and found there that he had already gone there before me. I immediately telegraphed to him to go on to Jubbulpur and there to wait my arrival. I however joined, him there on the 14th, and we all left the next morning by the Mail Train and arrived here yesterday in the evening after 6 o'clock P. M. I had first intended to have telegraphed to you immediately but thinking it of no use as it would for nothing cost double rates I have done so this morning and hope it has reached you already.

At Jubbulpur Ram Bhau met about half a dozen Surat Sepoys going home on leave of absence and having had an opportunity of putting up for the night at the same place with them, heard all they had to say the whole night, and it was from them that he first heard that the troops were nearly all very much dissatisfied with the conduct of Government in the case of Malhar Rao, and that the least cause would immediately give rise to a second mutiny. The opinions of three native chiefs, viz. Jeypore, Scindhia and Sir Dinkur Rao in the Baroda Commission have done much harm. The people generally pay no attention to the opinion of the European Members as they say that they were expected to say nothing calculated to injure (i.e. against) the interests of Government. But that Government has in fact greatly disgraced the three Native Members by not paying the least attention to what they opined and doing what they liked. They (soldiers) plainly said that the feelings of the troops were exactly the same what they were a month or two before the breaking up of the last mutiny and that thinking this to be the state of things the more peaceful sort of people were trying to

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place themselves as far from their Regiment as they can by going away to their homes on leave of absence if practicable. This is the state of the troops here as has been gathered from the reports of the sepoys and tomorrow I shall try to commence sounding the hearts of the troops here.

The natives of Poona have sent a barrister to England is a rumour here, who has taken a petition from some of the most influential men of this place, bearing about 195 signatures, including all the officials of the Judge's Court, and it is also said that the Judge is a secret adviser in the affair. It is a current rumour that on the 11th an order by telegraph has been received from Her Majesty to postpone the adoption of an heir to the throne of Baroda by Jumnabai, till the final orders are not passed on this application.

I do really feel very much depressed on account of my being so far off from yourself and were I not sure that it is to serve you I could never persuade myself to remain so far from you. I beg to inform you that the trip has cost me more than Rs.300.

With best respects to yourself and Mrs. B.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,
K. N. SUKUL.

[2]

Poona, 19*th May*, 1875.

To
MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR-GENERAL, THUGGY DEPARTMENT,
VICEROY'S CAMP,
SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

I HAVE not yet fixed upon any abode of mine own where I might remove to and am still stopping at a Dharamshalla, but

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hope to be able to get one soon. Ever since I arrived here, constables keep on asking me and my men where I am from and what has brought me here. In fact I am tired of telling them that I am a Doctor, and that I have come down for the purpose of practising here.

I had sent my men to the cantonments this morning and they have succeeded in making some acquaintances there duly. In short they have been able to obtain no information there whatever this morning. As soon as I hear any thing of importance in that quarter I sha'nt fail to let you know all about it. I have ordered some papers, and have paid a month's advance for them. The few I have got yet contain nothing of interest there.

I met a clerk of the Judges Court today and asked him about the rumour of yesterday. He informed me, that what I heard about the secret admixture of the Judge in the matter is incorrect. He had rather advised them not to meddle with the matter as that would be a cause of nickname to them, but they (the officials) paid no attention to his remonstrances and did memorialize the Government whereupon, they have incurred the displeasure of the Viceroy. Some of the men who accompanied Malhar Rao to Madras have returned today to Poona and shall leave for Baroda by the next train. They say that Malhar Rao does not feel well there, and that now he does not agree with Dr. Seward even, who is overstrict to him. Any letters addressed to Balaji Pandurang, Vaghmare Dhaundkar's Wada, near Natu's house Shanwarpeth, Poona, will find me.

With best compliments to yourself and Mrs. B.

I remain,

Kindest and Worthiest Sir,

Yours ever obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

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[3]

Poona, 20th May, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGEE DEPARTMENT,
TARA HALL,
SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

THE disarmament of the Baroda Troops as rumoured here has produced a really great sensation amongst the Government Troops stationed here. They are much afraid of one day sharing the same fate themselves and hence through sheer cunning have it seems determined upon never letting their dissatisfaction gain the least publicity, which though not sincere is very well feigned, and as a consequence much less detrimental to Government for want of a medium of communication. Yesterday, in the afternoon I went to the city Library here, where all the papers of the latest dates are exposed for public perusal. Here the elite of Poona assemble in the evenings and the place is generally full from 5 P.M. to 9 P.M. There were at the time about a dozen Marathas and a Parsee youth. The former were conversing upon the views taken by the Editor of the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* and a vast number of articles therein printed from the various other papers of Bengal generally and one or two from some Guzrat papers This paper was said to be for the time being the best public spirited paper in India and every one was of opinion that the Bengalees were no doubt the freest minded and most public spirited people throughout India, ready to take up any quarrel with the Supreme Government in every matter calculated to injure public interests. How proper is it said they to form connections of an amicable nature with some of the leading Associations of Bengal. They also proposed to find out some such able Bengalees as would for good remuneration take the Secretaryship of some of their leading Associations. They

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conversed sometimes loudly and sometimes in such an undertone as was scarcely audible to me sitting on the same bench though at a distance, the least susceptible of a suspicion, and though seemingly absorbed in reading a Marathi-English paper was all attention to what was going on in that circle. They dwelt much on the impropriety of Lord Northbrook's conduct in the Baroda case. One of the company said "Every servant tries to do something to fill the coffers of his master, but that he should not do at the sacrifice of another:" Another said "yes, Lord Northbrook had really wished to annex the Raj, but he could not manage the business well and so in the end nothing but a share in the administration of the state fell to the lot of Government." I myself am at a loss to understand how all these Dakshini as well as Bengali papers call Malhar Rao so guiltless, perhaps the division in the opinions of the Commission means that. I had to wait very long to be able to get hold of the paper they were so much commenting upon and in the end, when could see it, it proved to be the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* (overland Edition) of the 14th instant.

Kamabai Saheb, the daughter of Malhar Rao is married in Shirke family of Poona, and her relatives here have secured the services of a first rate pleader of this place called Kashinath. This man is about to set out for Baroda in a day or two to petition for the restoration of his client's jewels which Government had taken into their own custody, when they were being privately carried away by some one at Kamabai's own request before the trial of Malhar Rao. Now as every fear has in a measure subsided they have determined upon trying to get them back. Government is in a fair position to inquire first to whom they really belong for it is by such like measures that Malhar has removed much of the jewels and some cash from the Baroda Treasury. I have found out the name of one person with whom were deposited more than twenty lacs of rupees by Malhar Rao a few days previous to his arrest, but as I have not yet been able to find out any person who can prove the same? I think it to be of no use to give it out. I am however perfectly sure of the fact and that man himself would doubtlessly deny it, as he has already been banished the kingdom and has himself deposited the money with somebody else, who will himself try to possess the vast sum if Government does not step in and grasp it. This

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man's name is Govind Rao Mama. He has been ordered by Government to leave and vacate Baroda and has thereupon removed to Dakor, a place of pilgrimage in Guzrat. He had first tried to escape to Benares with his effects and was prevented by Government from doing so. He has now received this punishment though nothing in comparison to his guilts. If his conduct were inquired into, he would be found a party in a great many unpardonable crimes; of which instigating the mob of Baroda to put the son of Lakshmibai on the throne was one. He is in fact the worst man in the whole of Baroda Territory.

The men who came from Madras after seeing Malhar Rao there have gone back to Baroda by last evening's Mail Train.

Cholera of a weak type is prevailing in Poona. On the average about from ten to twenty persons die of it every day.

It is useless for me to remind you about expenses as you had yourself said everything on the subject. Do not send it please, till I don't remove to some place of my own.

Hoping a continuation of your favors and further instruction as to what else I may have to search besides for.

With best compliments to yourself and Mrs. Bradford.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,
K. N. SUKUL.

The Post Master of Poona is requested by the undersigned to deliver any letters that he might have received to the address of the undersigned to the bearer of this and in case of a registered letter the Post Master is requested to take the signature of the bearer who is a very trustworthy servant of the undersigned.

20*th May*, 1875.

KAILAS NATH SUKUL,

Late Private Secretary and Physician to H. H. the Maharaja of Balrampur. Oudh.

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[4]

Simla, 21st May, 1875..

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED your letter from Benares dated 12th May and subsequent letter of the 16th containing the copy of the circular. . . . . I was glad to see his reference to that document. I hope you will.. . . . . to let me know whether the names signed are real or fictitious . . . . . who the people are and what position they occupy, who is the leading person amongst them and anything concerning the distribution of the circular which you may be able to check up. I am anxious to know whether it was sent to other places besides Benares, by whom and how it was sent and anything of . . . . of that . . . . . Further I should like to know whether the rights mentioned are to be observed are being observed or are they empty sentences.

I have heard that there certainly have been some emissaries on the part of the G at Poona, what did they do there, who were they and where are they now? I am told they went elsewhere also. I hope you will be able to find out where they went.

Is there such a person at Baroda as Rao Saheb . . . kur and whose sister is Ranee Munsabaee and the brother lives at Seria Tala-Baroda?

I am sending this letter to the post office as your address by telegram was not very clear. Write by return post and tell me. . . . . where to address.

I hope you have found out who Gangadhar Rao Waste is and what his mission to Hindusthan was. The Jeypore Sirdars did not assist. I hope to get a letter from you tomorrow or the next day.

I remain,

Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD

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[5]

Telegram No. 329 from Major E R. C. Bradford, Simla Received on May 21st, 1875. Addressed to Kailas Nath Sukul, Dhaundkar's House, Shanwarpore, Poona.

Letter despatched today you at post office Poona. Arrange to receive it.

[6]

Poona, 21st May, 1875

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR-GENERAL, THUGGY DEPARTMENT,
SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

HEREIN I send you enclosed a copy and a translation of a letter published in the *Indu Prakash* of the 17th Instt., addressed to Scindhia, Holkar and all other great and small Rajahs, Maharajas and chiefs of India asking them to take courage and be of one mind in being always henceforwards careful of never placing the least confidence in the British Government and assisting at all risks one another in this grand emergency. That they should leave no efforts untried and spare no sum of money in getting Malhar Rao once more restored to his throne. This letter is written by the *Sarvajanik Sabha* of Poona and is so circuitously worded as to have a double meaning, viz., of assisting with force of arms as well with money and appealing to the Parliament. This *Sabha* has also sent private letters to nearly all the great Rajahs of India instigating them to the same purpose and this they have dared to publish in the papers to inform the public mind and the petty chiefs also. This is very bad and deserves some prompt restriction otherwise they may get heart and do something worse.

With best compliments to yourself and Mrs. Bradford.

I remain,
Kind and Worthy Sir,
Yours ever obediently,
K. N. SUKUL.

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P. S. Mr. Ganesh Vasudev Joshi, pleader of Poona, who is well known to you is Secretary to the above *Sarvajanik Sabha*, and the writer of this letter.

K. N. S.

[7]

Poona, 23rd May, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,

INSPECTOR-GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY DEPARTMENT,
SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

ON the one hand Ganesh Vasudev Joshi and his party with Sergt. Ballantine at their head are trying to rouse the princes and the nobility of India to pity the fallen Malhar Rao and hope to succeed in having him recrowned with all possible pomp and magnificence; while on the other Government is using every despatch in crowning a youth from the Khandesh branch of the Gaekwad family to be first adopted by Maharani Jumnabai, the late Gaekwad Khanderao's queen dowager. This Youth is the selection of Government and is said to be not liked by the Maharani also. The whole country is on the side of Sadashiv Rao, Elder son to Bapusaheb Gaekwad of Baroda and though the nearer in order of succession to the throne of Baroda is not less than his father in point of rascality, who died in imprisonment. The crises, though however great are over now, and are only still smouldering in a corner out of the way. But the third and the last perhaps has now arrived and requires the utmost degree of cautiousness, political tact, courage and determination of purpose to conduct it. I mean the adoption and succession of some one to the throne of Baroda. This is an event which the timid men of a peaceful turn of mind in these parts have been most eagerly looking to as a certain crisis for some disturbance of a general kind expected to take place on this occasion. Even had Sadashiv

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Rao succeeded there were hopes of some disturbance on part of the partisans of Malhar Rao, and now in case of Sadashiv Rao's being set aside too, as has been published in today's *Times of India,* every one is dissatisfied with it, and there is certainly some fear in this proceeding. It would also have been long ago over with the deposition of Malhar Rao, had this delay not intervened between that critical moment and this. But then this full consideration of the subject would have been impossible and Government would again have had cause to repent their haste as in case of Malhar Rao's succession. Now what was most proper and just has been arrived at, and whatever be the result thereof at present there is every hope of a good future for Baroda now. The most mischievous man in Baroda viz. Govind Rao Mama has been removed, but is still in the same proximity and should be removed from there too; as during his stay there he will never fail to be always breathing sedition amongst the simple and ignorant people of Gujrat. All that this man possesses excepting a few thousand Rupees belong to Malhar Rao, for it was with him and Damodar Pant that prince had deposited vast sums to be of use when the matter takes an opposite course and it was to appropriate that to himself that Damodar Pant spoke so much against Malhar Rao, but only when he had first obtained his own pardon. Govind Rao Mama is still attached to Malhar Rao and is continuing to spend money without reserve to serve his friendly Master. He is still retaining Shantaram Narayan as Attorney on behalf of Malhar Rao, and has promised to give all expenses of a formal appeal to the Parliament in England through Sergt. Ballantine. I have met a most politically wise man here, and though a Maratha is a friend of Government. He had a few days previously assured me, that the first crises are over now and there is no need of the least fear of any disturbance now; so long as a new successor is not appointed. He praised the prudence of Government in doing everything slowly and after seeing the effect one shock produced had subsided. Today he came to me early in the morning and told me to write to my friends with the Governor General, if I had any, telling them that now is the time for utmost caution. Everything is at a stake now. The crisis is arrived now when the utmost tact is necessary. Sadashiv Rao is to be at once secured and sent out of the way, if he is not to succeed, as he is a most dangerous

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person and should be dreaded till a six month after the succession of a Khandesh heir is not over, and I take this opportunity of bringing it to your most prudent notice immediately. It is this man who told me that an heir from Khandesh has been named to succeed by the Government of India and was published in the *Times of India.* I have formed the friendship of a Risaldar in the Light Cavalry here, and have been able to learn from him that no one has yet come to the Troops with any offers of money on part of the Ex-Gaekwad. But that they have received a few letters, which they have made over to their officers as they received them. He also said that the minds of the Troops are in a first-rate condition and who is foolish enough to think of again rebelling after seeing the punishment their brethren received for their conduct in 1857, now that there are above sixty European Regts in the country, besides the Artillery being entirely in their hands. Still however he said that he can assure me as to the conduct of the officers at any rate, who would rather lose their lives than think otherwise; but as for the Sepoys they are never to be trusted, being entirely composed of the most reckless and consequently foolish and ignorant character. No one knows when and what they might be led to do. But as far as it rests with us to keep their minds free and clear from all traces of foolish ideas which they always imbibe every company they fall in with we now think to be our only and every day duty.

I am preparing a list of the most dreadful characters of this place and hope to be soon able to place it before you. Till then with best compliments to yourself and Mrs. Bradford.

Believe me,

Kindest and Worthiest Sir,

Yours ever obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

P. S.—I am in receipt of your Telegram informing me of the despatch of your letter of the same day which I have not yet received.

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[8]

Simla, 24th May, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE just received your letter dated 18th and I send merely a line to acknowledge its receipt. The conversation R. B. had at Jubbulpur is interesting. I hope he will be able to tip me what villages the 6 Surat Sepoys come from. Whether they mentioned any particular man as having visited the Regt. and made them think what they told him. The great thing will be to try and find out whether any designing people are now moving about or whether they have ceased, if still working, who they are, are they confined to Baroda people alone or others taking advantage of the opportunity of widespread feeling that now exists on that particular business. Find out the truth of the various rumours. I think you had better send somebody to Sholapur, also Surat, and anywhere else you may think advisable. I think I may depend on your using your utmost exertions to let me have good, quick and truthful information. Money of course I can send you directly, you let me know where to send it. Let me hear each day but be very careful that no body sees you write here.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
E. R. C. BRADFORD.

[9]

Poona, 24th May, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR-GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY DEPARTMENT,
TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

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I HAVE at last succeeded in finding a man who promises to tell the name of the man who wrote those letters to the troops stationed at Poona, Surat and Bharoach, as well as other places throughout Deccan, where Native Regiments are quartered. This man is one and the same man, signing his name twice, one his real name and the other its Deccani equivalent. He is a native of Baroda, and easy of being secured. He has been all along the time a most attached companion of Malhar Rao's. It is with the utmost difficulty and promise of a reward that I have succeeded in discovering the name of this man and who he is. Presently, the only topic occupying the attention of men here is the adoption and succession of a member of the Khandesh family. Every tongue is protesting against it, and praying for a second mutiny. These womanish men who have no energy of their own generally pray to God to hurl His wrath on those against whom they cannot by force of their own arm stand forward.

I am really very much surprised to find here in the Deccan and no where else, English students who owe their everything, even their mode of reasoning, to the honesty and munificence of British Government, so adverse to it, even to wish it's extinction. The Bengalees I know well, are only a prattling race, desirous, nay heartily fond, of showing their superiority in every thing, by merely babbling out far and loud what they think of as free thinkers, but sincerely they never wish ill of Government for instance, a second mutiny, as the generality of our Deccani friends do.

I was this morning seen by the fourth master of the Government High School of Poona by name Krishna Rao Gadgeel, a young man of some ability and spirit. He has failed in the L. A. Examination of the Bombay University and is considered to be a great English poet. From the very beginning he began blaming the British Government for injustice, avarice and a determined hatred of the natives, whom they have determined upon most indiscriminately and mercilessly crushing down to the very earth. He spoke much upon the injustice done to Malhar Rao and much more upon the late unjust and quite exorbitant settlement in this presidency, which has at once thrown the ryots and all cultivating classes into a state of complete penury and misery. He said that the assets have been doubled

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and trebled in nearly ninety out of a hundred cases and the whole country is ready to rise at the least cause of excitement. This man is most sincerely praying for a second mutiny, and is really much exasperated against his own countrymen for not mutinying at once. But he is sure, he says, if the Troops of Hindusthan proper can anyhow be brought about to mutiny, the whole of Deccan will rise at once and at once extirpate the whole British race from the face of the country. He was ready to spend all he possessed to bring this about if that would suffice. We always, said he, discuss these subjects and the like in the native Library here, and had even said that all the members of the Library are of the same opinion generally. God should punish if Government would not such ungrateful wretches. Had I the least power I would have immediately got this man arrested. But in the end I fell out with him and told him that he never saw what mutiny was and so he wishes it. He only thinks that the troops rebelled and killed their officers and marched off with the plunders they got from the Government Treasuries. He does not know the state of the whole country and the total disorder which prevailed at the time and the consequences of it. How the whole land was plundered by the *Budmashes* of the country and the degree of insecurity of life and property that prevailed at the time cannot be described, but was seen and experienced only by those, who were there during the riot.

All these arguments were of no avail before him, he was so far against the Rule and so determined in his purpose. He also said that the *Sarvajanik Sabha* was a great success in this country. But he said the government officials were so hard upon it and were always treating the members of it, who are all Government servants, with such determined hardness and mistrust that the Society can scarcely successfully bring about anything to a proper conclusion. In fact they cannot even now publicly say anything as they used to do before.

I am in want of some expenses now, and besides defraying the railway and other travelling expenses, as well as the expenses of procuring information I can not appropriate any sum to my own use, so long as I do not get an explicit order for so doing from you, which I most humbly solicit in reply to this.

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I would have rather gone to Baroda on this occasion, but cannot do so as I have not yet received any order from you to the effect. In fact I have not any letter from you as yet and am quite in the dark as regards your views now. Please write to me explicit instructions as to my future conduct.

My present address is Keshav's Dharamshala, Shookrawarpeth, Poona. I shall however soon remove to another place and let you know by telegraph immediately.

With best compliments to yourself and Mrs. Bradford.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,
K. N. SUKUL.

[10]

Simla, 26th May, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

Your letter dated 20th duly reached me today. I hope you are endeavouring to find out the exact meaning and intention of the letters I mentioned to you before you started, also who they were written by and their origin. I do not care so much now for general statements as for any particular ones. The newspapers I see.

I should have liked to know who the people were who you mentioned returned from Madras. Of course I will arrange for money reaching you when I know it will reach you in safety.

Endeavour to find out whether anything is really moving now or whether adverse to what has been done is all that is passing. Send me a letter every day and your people who you send elsewhere do the same to you and let me know what they send you. I dare say by degrees you will make friends and get it done. It has been raining very heavily. I think you know all

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I wish you to hunt up, but of course I will let you know anything special that I may require.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
E. R. C. BRADFORD,

P. S.—You have I hope got my letter from the post office to which I have sent each day.

[11]

Poona, 26th May, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR-GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY DEPARTMENT,
SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

I HAD spoken to you once that the Marathas in their own Presidency are in the habit of delivering sermons on political subject under the form of their religious *Kathas* and *Kirtans,* by singing songs and stanzas composed for the occasions to the sound of their country drums and other musical instruments, and I had an opportunity of being present at one of these yesterday, when lo! I was really shocked at the subject and the indecent language wherein it was delivered.

I had seen it advertised in several Deccani papers since a few days previously and on meeting Krishna Rao yesterday I had asked him to take me to one of the kind, and he promised to do so the same evening. In the evening however I did not see him but on making further enquiries I was given to understand that those that have not the honour of being the members of the *Sarvajanik Sabha* can get admissions on paying the fee of a Rupee, and this I could easily do by your order. So I went there and saw Krishna Rao too there who was quite surprised to see me there, as the assembly meets at 10 o'clock P. M. precisely and breaks

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up at one or two A. M. The preacher was Vishnu Parushuram Shastri of Bombay, who I think is the Editor of the *Indu Prakash* newspaper. The subject chosen was Unity and Commerce of India. He first commenced from the creation by telling that in one sense of the term God was common father to all. But India was the throne of God, and Brahmin represented the mouth of God, and were consequently the Highest in the order of creation. That India was once the most civilized country of the world, and was the envy of every other nation, on account of the liberality of God having been most profuse here and as there was no such necessity or luxury which our country did not produce. This led to the perfect unheedfulness of the inhabitants of this country who became very proud of their possession, and gave vent to a determined idieness and its attendant vices, jealousy and disunion. Then he described what the English were a few centuries before this and how like beggars they first came to this country, and from the beginning commenced dispossessing those of this country who gave them place to stand upon. Till by degrees in this way they have now become the masters of nearly five fourths of the whole land. They are so treacherous a race as would never fail to grasp the first opportunity of dispossessing even those whom they only a little before addressed as valuable brothers and esteemed friends. Not being satisfied with the sovereignty of the whole country the whole nation trades with India in the materials of every kind. They have left us no trade whatever except that of selling grain and some other raw materials to our own countrymen. Oil etc., they have taken up too which they sell in bottles labelled and wrapped in papers, and what for their countrymen, who are so very partial to their brethren that they would rather purchase the same articles of an English shop at quadruple the price they would not with pleasure give for the same thing to a native. But alas! Our own countrymen have turned so degenerate that setting all nationality and natural ties at nought, do imitate the English in every thing, however shocking they may look in them, and even feel proud of making their purchases at English shops, where they give three times the profit, they are for feeding a mere whim of pride depriving their really pitiable countrymen of. To what state are the (generality of the) natives of India reduced? To a penury those who feel only know. Those who had silver pots for drawing

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water from wells and cooking the grub, can scarcely afford to pay for earthen jars for the purpose. And, still they do not feel to what misery they have been reduced under the auspices of the much-praised British rule. And, I am led to believe they would not feel, so long as they would not begin to starve and be driven here and there stark naked. I am only longing for the arrival of that day when whole India would feel their duty of combining against these foreign beggars and then it would be a moment's work to drive them out as dogs. Till then it would never be the happy lot of the Mother Farth of India to see its lions (sons) roar over these confounded dogs running away in every direction for the safety of their lives. The mother land is weeping at the misfortune of its young ones who were really lions, and these motherless pups (whose land would scarcely supply nourishment to half its children, if India was not plundred of more than half its produce of every kind) came to its shores and began to suckle at its breast, and she as a mother kind to every babe, did not grudge this as they were few and she had plenty of nourishment than what sufficed for her own young ones, till now, when their numbers daily increasing they have now commenced sucking the heart-blood the most essential thing for her own life and now numbers prevailing and her own offsprings not taking note of their lion's instinct, are perishing under the load of this political plunder, and feel proud of possessing such a brood of apparently kind and gentle yet and politically inhumane, unjust and merciless foster-brothers. With bound hands and open lap I have often prayed you all and still pray as well as shall till life in my weak and time worn limbs ever pray you all to to be more yourselves, and remember your lion's instinct and with union of mind show your lions teeth to these intriguing and treacherous dogs and still if the mere fright does not drive them off the shores of our really bleeding (mother) country then easing all recollections of humanity and gentleness for which this country has always been and is still famous try to devour them at any risk and God will grant you courage and its consequence ultimate success in extirpating their race from the face of the land and when once cleared of these blood thirsty robbers every prosperity will once more flow in throughout the land and you all shall have the name of a free and independent people. There is no such country, however small, throughout the civilized half

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of this World, which does not possess a ruler of its own, except India, which has since a thousand years had the misfortune of being crushed under foreign rule, and now a time has come when it has lost all its far spoken wealth and is being treated worse than a nation of slaves under the disguise of justice and mercy. In conclusion he said I again and for the last time on this occasion bind my hands, before you, the flower of Deccan's intelligent and freespirited sons, and beg—nay conjure you all in the name of all that you hold dear and sacred, to be of one mind and here in the presence of God most solemnly pledge to renounce all friendship, sincerity and traces of pity and goodwill that you might have ever entertained for the British and henceforward swear to grasp and not to let slip any and the least opportunity of speaking to the hearts of every Hindu. What yourselves and every lover of India and its independence has by experience ascertained and consequently feels the real motives and wishes of the British Government and what they all must open their sleeping eyes to and sincerely feel themselves to become of one purpose, heart and soul and make one joint and determined effort to either have the inexpressible pleasure of seeing these plunderers driven off the land or perish in the attempt with the last satisfaction of leaving others to accomplish what they have begun. Amen! Amen! Amen! Toward the end of it one of the men pointed towards us and the Shastri said in the first there would be no native, so degenerate as would in any case instead of joining in this sacred and pious attempt, calculated to free our country from this oppressive and really crushing yoke, would think of betraying us. Towards the close, the preacher came down from the place of his preaching and joined us all and, then began to converse with me and to ask who I was, what brought me to Poona and how I like the public spirit of Deccan's present enlightend youths.

I managed to satisfy him on these points in a manner I best could, and was against my conscience obliged to praise them in suitable and high words to be able to join their company again, and am in fact much disgusted to have to play a perfect hypocrite's part, having no other motive at the bottom of my heart than that of serving you and through yourself Government which to say the truth I most sincerely am the staunchest advocate of.

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I rather told them that even the people would never allow any such discourse in our parts to which they most promptly replied that they are in this respect most fortunate.

What I have said above not even a hundredth part of what the man said as he continued troubling my ears with his ravings for full three hours at the pace of the swiftest railway train, and it was impossible to remember all he said. But I have merely tried to bring to your notice the subject-matter in nearly the same strain in which he spoke. No doubt he said the same thing again and again, and I have avoided repetition as far as I possibly could. I was really much annoyed at his indecent expressions and could not, notwithstanding all my endeavor to give you a strictly exact notion of it, write the English equivalents of the most shameful and open abuses with which the whole thing was most indiscriminately interspersed. However I should not fail to beg a thousand pardons for even the words I have already used. I cannot express how very angry I am against these people, and am still obliged to play a hypocrite's part amongst them every-day. God knows how much I would have liked to be able to have punished them with my own hands, had I not been obliged to open a friendly intercourse with them.

This man Vishnu Parushuram Shastri is the proprietor of the *Indu Prakash* and deserves capital punishment of a political type and is fit at once to be removed from this centre of political intrigue. In my preceding letter I sent you a copy and translation of his letter to the Scindia, Holkar and other Rajas of the country. He is the man who introduced the widow's marriage in Deccan by marrying a widow himself.

Murar Rao's shooting himself after hearing of the claims of his elder brother ignored by the Government of India has produced another sensation throughout the whole presidency and people say that the adoption of the Khandesh claimant cannot take place owing to the the obsequial pollution of the whole family. But this fellow had first turned a Mussulman, and then afterwards once more returned back to his Hindu religion but has since been treated as an outcast and was also affected with the most troublesome of diseases the leprosy.

I beg also to be excused for hasty writing and the consequent mistakes and omissions, as I always write overnight for fear of

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anybody coming in and seeing what I have been writing during the day, and a similar fear prevents me from keeping with me any copy or notes of what I write to you.

This is the sixth day and yet I have not received your letters despatched on the 21st as telegraphed of the same day. It is very surprising and looks suspicious.

I am in want of expenses, and you must have remitted something in the letter above mentioned.

Hoping to be always kindly remembered, and with best Salams to yourself and Mrs. Bradford.

I remain Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

[12]

Simla, 28th May, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED no letter from you yesterday and your's of the 21st has only just reached me. As you mention nothing regarding the main matter of inquiry I presume you have nothing new to communicate. I daresay you would find some difficulty in establishing sufficient friendly relations with whom much information on those points may rest. The enclosure to your letter just received is instructive. Is it that the *Sabha* is paid for writing such nonsense, etc. or what prompts it. Are you certain Mr. Ganesh Vasudev Joshi is the writer of the letter you sent me a copy of or is it only you think so.

Can you find out who Anundba and Hurry Pant are. I believe them to be Baroda people.

I have just received your second letter dated 23rd. I see it had been taken to a wrong house and consequently reached me rather late. There is one thing mentioned with which makes

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me fear that you have told the Maratha gentleman you speak of that you are from Simla. I hope you will be very cautious about anything you may say to anybody. If you can send me a copy of the *Indu Prakash* of the 17th inst. and just don't direct your letters with too many particulars just my name with Tara Hall, Simla is enough. The Genl. Suptd. etc., calls attention to the letter.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

[13]

Poona, 28th May, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY,
TARA HALL,
SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

TODAY is the day fixed for the adoption of an heir to succeed to the throne of Baroda by Ranee Jumnabai, widow of the late Gaekwad Khunde Rao, and under the precautions lately taken by the Resident and other authorities I can assure you that there is not the least cause of fear of any rising whatever anywhere in Deccan. I judged this from what I heard from the fourth master in the High School here, that the whole of Deccan (whether the natives or the troops) are ready to rise, as soon as there is any rising in India proper. This man is privy to all machinations of the Marathas. And from what I heard from Risaldar Jwala Singh of the 3rd Light Cavalry here stationed four miles lying near the Railway Station Karki I am also assured of there being no chance of any fear whatever; as he told me that the officers (Huddedars) are all most sincerely loyal and the soldiery, of whom he said nothing, can be affirmed with any certainty are

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also hitherto not much dissatisfied excepting some minor exceptions.

Here I have been able only to discover the name of the man who wrote those letters to the troops here; as for Malhar Rao's money it is with no one. What I have been able to learn about Govind Rao Mama and Damodar Pant I have already informed you of.

The most deserving of attention is the conduct and gatherings as well as the preachings and lectures of the English knowing classes of this place, whose remarks and public opinions are inexhaustible, as every two or three days there is surely to be a *Sabha,* a lecture or a sermon.

Their daily gathering in the Library too is not a little source of collecting some ideas of their feelings and inclinations generally towards Government and they have presently only the opportunity of making a noise and fuss about nothing and everything, which in time is calculated to entirely turn the minds of the millions.

There is one greatest defect in the first place, that the Marathas here generally hold very high appointments that our people scarcely ever hold in our parts; and secondly that the appointment of the Reporter on the Native Press is in the hands of an enlightened Maratha who is of the same mind and feeling with the Editors of the Presses. In such case he can never be expected to take the same impartial and disinterested heed of the different articles as an our country man would do, I shall write more fully on the subject thereafter.

I would have gone to some other place by this time having satisfied myself about the security and known nearly every thing worth knowing about this place, but not having received even a single letter from you up to this time, I cannot think of so doing, without first knowing your views and further instructions as to my movements.

Is it not astonishing that I have not yet received the letters, the despatch of which you telegraphed to me on the 21st Inst, notwithstanding today is the ninth day after its despatch?

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With best compliments to yourself and Mrs. Bradford.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

[14]

Simla, 29th May, 1875.

MY DEAR SIR,

I HAVE today received your letter dated 24th May. It arrived too late for me to get any notes to send you but I will on Monday send you Rs.500 unless I hear from you.

I have sent a letter to you each day since I received your telegram excepting one. My views I gave you before you left and anything that has occurred to me since I have written to you. I do not think it would be worthwhile your remaining long at Poona if you find you can get no information on the points I mentioned to you and I cannot but fear from the remark which was contained in your letter received yesterday and which I referred to in my reply there to, namely that your Maratha friend had begged you to write to your friend at Simla, certain information that what you may hear may be given you for that purpose and consequently worthless to me I don't think there would be much advantage in your visiting Baroda just now. I must leave it to your discretion to act as you think best with a view for which you . . . . to the South. As regards the amount you may use yourself, I must also leave that to you also and we must settle accounts on your return. Of course where it is necessary you must spend money in procuring information and seeing people about and I have no desire to . . . . you but as I have said before I must leave it to you to judge what is necessary. The more places in which you establish correspondents the better. They must be trustworthy and people who will not make much of little or nothing. I hope you are collecting particulars

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as to names, ... etc of people of influence. The only way I can send money is by notes and these must be sent by halves for fear of being lost. I will venture a small sum in one letter to keep you in funds for current expenses.

You must not argue against the views of people who proclaim their sentiments to you or you are not likely to gain much from them. I do not know that I have anything further to add. You do not name the man who wrote the letters. I hope you will have picked up something more since.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

[15]

Poona, 29th May, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR-GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY
DEPARTMENT,
TARA HALL,
SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

AFTER much longing I have at last received your most esteemed favor of the 21st instant, bearing the next day's date in the Post Office seal and hence the delay in receiving it. I had since the receipt of the telegram sent my man every day to the Post Office and it was 8 days after its leaving Simla that I got it. Your having telegraphed its despatch assured me of its being either a very important letter or one containing some remittance, in the shape of C. notes which assurance, together with the delay in its arrival, made me very anxious about it. At last its arrival has really given much satisfaction, by at once placing me in a sort of direct communication with you after so long a time.

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I have already written to you a letter four or five days ago about this circular, a copy whereof I sent you from Benares, saying that as I had brought an introduction to a couple of Head Shastris here, from one of our Head Shastris at Benares, and on my meeting one of these as the other has gone to Bombay, I was treated as a friend with much respect and confidence. He has introduced me to some other first class Shastris and Pundits here, and when after the first two or three days I broached the subject of this circular as well as the one circulated here, he at once denied all knowledge of it, and seemed quite surprised at the mere mention of it. The names affixed to the Benares circular do not at all belong to the Shastris of this place exclusively, but rather to some of the Shastris of Wai, Satara and Nasik also, the first four belong to the Head Shastris of this place, who all have much influence among the Sirdars and other Orthodox Hindus of this place as well as those of the neighbourhood of Poona.

There exists much enmity between these Shastris and the *Sudharleli Mandali* (enlightened community) of these parts, owing to the difference of opinion and belief that exists between the two, while the latter are the most determined supporters of the cause of Malhar Rao.

I am endeavoring to discover, whether these Shastris have really issued and signed this circular, or somebody else had counterfeited their signatures and issued it. As for its observance, I find it no where observed in this city.

A great friend and boon companion of Malhar Rao's who was an accomplice of Govind Rao Mama, who both held the appointments of High Court Judges of Baroda has arrived here and is living in the Gaekwad's house at Poona, since the departure of Malhar Rao from Baroda. His name is Bulwant Rao Dev and is one of the seven evil geniuses, the chief advisers of Malhar Rao.

As for the other names, they are not correctly written. If Ranee Munsuhbair means Malhsabai, she is the second, I mean the first Ranee of Malhar Rao, and she really has a brother living at Sirsa Talao; his surname is Mohite, and I shall try and find out his full name and inform you of it. If it does not mean

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so I beg herewith the favor of your telegraphing to me this as well as the other name Bhasdeykur, correctly. This man Mohite is the man with whom Malhar Rao had deposited the notes which he had concealed in the bed clothes, and which were discovered by the police, when M. Rao was arrested.

I have already written to you for expenses and a letter addressed to me at the Post Office, or c/o Balaji Vaghmare Dhaundkur's house, Shanwarpeth will surely find me.

With Best compliments to yourself and Mrs. Bradford.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Your ever obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

P. S.—I hope to see Gangadhar Rao Waste when I go to Bombay and then I shall be able to discover everything connected with his mission.

K. N. SUKUL.

[16]

Poona, 30th May, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,

INSPECTOR-GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY
DEPARTMENT, TARA HALL,
SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

THE sepoys whom R. B. had come in contact, with at the Jubbulpur Railway Serai were natives of Oudh and Farrackabad, they were coming from Surat and were going home on leave of absence. We had all gone to see New Poona Exhibition of country made articles, which the *Sarvajanik Sabha* here has

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opened this year, and intends holding every year, and R. B. pointed out to me in the crowd a man surrounded by four or five Marathas and whispered in my ear that this was Bulwant Rao Deo, about whose being here, he had heard the day before yesterday, and informed me the same day, and I have written to your self about him in my yesterday's letter. We had first heard that he was living at Gaekwad's house, but when R. B. met him, and asked him where he was putting up he told him in an undertone, that he was living in some very obscure place now, where he has now only a few days ago removed to from the Gaekwad's house, just after the nomination of the Baroda successor and the date of his succession. When R. B. wished to speak to him, further, he made signs to say that that was'nt the proper time and place for private conversation. So I have now sent R. B. to his place and when he comes back shall be able to know the result of the interview and of course many things about Baroda, though none of any importance. He is stopping here entirely to serve Malhar Rao, and as per his instructions only. We had first heard that he had, as his colleague Govind Rao Mama, been ordered to leave the territory of Baroda, but on asking him it was found that he had come away of his own accord. Is it possible for a man of his position to leave his family, house, and much valuable property at such a time and come away without some purpose at the bottom. He would not stop at Bombay where his schemes and machinations might have had a chance of being one day discovered while, here he is quite safe on that score and has all the most dangerous characters of the *Sarvajanik Sabha* at his service. Besides, sitting in Poona he can without fear of discovery be planning and intriguing in a thousand different ways. I fear he is the man who has issued himself or has got issued by some other scoundred that circular bearing the counterfeit signature of the 15 Shastris of Poona; as having instituted a perfectly strict and searching private inquiry about it here, none of the Shastris, possessing any influence here, know anything about it. They had not yet known that anything had been published about the circular in the *Bombay Times*, and the Head Shastris are thinking of notifying through the Magistrate of this place in the same as well as other papers that they had no hand in the matter and that some rascal has forged their names and issued the circular, and shall also request the

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Magistrate to find out the man who did this. Who knows whether they speak the truth or only deny the truth on its being discovered. The Benares Shastris reply, must have come to them, as it was sent by Dak to the address of Bal Shastri Deo, the Head Shastri of this place, who denies even the receipt of the Benares reply and this leads me to think that if there was any truth in what he says, in that case the Post Office people seem to be accomplice to the issue thereof. However I am using every caution and am trying to discover the real writer and distributor of the circulars, and have rather, put some of the Shastris on the track by telling them that they may never hope to be free from suspicion in the eyes of Government, so long as the writer and circulator thereof is not found out.

There has been delivered a lecture by Kashinath Vishnu Phadke, and a sermon (*Kirtan*) preached by Naro Sadashiv Risbood in Phadke's house, Boodhwarpeth, in this interim, on the same subject that I wrote to you about a few days ago. But the lecturer and preacher were neither so vehement nor so indecent in their language as the first preacher Vishnu Parushuram Shastri Pundit, the Editor of the *Indu Prakash* was. He too was present on both occasions, and the subject was 'Hindu Union'.

The *Sarvajanik Sabha* is also a double dealing institution. Of late *Englishman* had published a very long article against it, wherein that paper has fully explained the danger calculated to accrue to Government from such an institution and has also warned Government to take appropriate precautions against the consequences of this large and (from its numbers) fearful combination of the populace with the nobility of the country. I have also come to know that the Judge of Poona (in his capacity of the Agent of Government to the Sirdars of Deccan) has in his last Annual Durbar, and the other high authorities have in some private interviews with the Sirdars, hinted at the advisability of their refraining from showing open disloyalty in their words and actions against the Supreme Government.

This has frightened them in some measure, and they had accordingly held an Extraordinary meeting at their Assembly Rooms yesterday, wherein they discussed this subject and have determined upon holding a General Durbar and sending a generally signed memorial of thanksgiving to the Government of

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India for their fulfilling the promise they had first made of maintaining a well conducted Native Rule in Baroda. You will be much astonished to hear that the same *Sarvajanik Sabha* that had only a few days ago written to Scindia, Holkar and other chiefs of India to assist Malhar Rao with money and *Sarvajanik Sabha* would undertake to plead his cause for him in the English Parliament, and ultimately get him restored, is now going to send a *Poshak* to the Newly adopted Gaekwad.

With best compliments to yourself and Mrs. Bradford and hoping this will find you in the enjoyment of good health.

I remain Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

[17]

Simla, 31st May, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE just received your letter of 26th inst. thank you for it. I hope you have received some letters from me before this. I scarcely like sending any money until I know you do receive my letters. Tomorrow's post will I think bring me the one from you after receipt of my first letter. For two days I have been writing to the address you last gave me. In tomorrow's letter I will send you some money. There was no means of doing so today not without writing to some official to give it and I cannot think you require it so urgently that one day will make any difference. Your indignation with what is said must not let you describe your own feelings or you will never ascertain what is required. I shall not be writing until I know that my letters reach you.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

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[18]

Simla, 1st June, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED your telegram of yesterday late last night and I hope to be able to send you a note for Rs.500 with this and, wish to send another for the same amount by tomorrow's post. This is the only convenient manner in which to send money. If the larger note does not come in time for the post I shall enclose a Rs.100 note and will enclose the larger one tomorrow. Are you quite sure that the Shastri's speech was as strong as your letter represents. I cannot think that such a speech would be tolerated in the midst of a large place like Poona especially as by payment you were able to get into the meeting. It is interesting to hear what is said, but I hope that you thoroughly understand the spirit in which such a speech is made and it's motives. How many people are present at a meeting of that sort? Find out positively please whether the Shastri of Bombay,, Vishnu Parushuram is really the Editor of the *Indu Prakash*. Mind you are very cautious in your dealings with other men.

I have nothing particular to add. I enclose a Rs.500 note which I hope will reach you in due course and I will send you Rs.500 in a large note tomorrow or if that is not procurable by smaller notes in two or three days each day.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
E. R. C. BRADFORD.

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[19]

Poona, 1st June, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,

INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY

DEPARTMENT, TARA HALL,

SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

WITH a thousand heartfelt thanks, I beg herewith most respectfully to acknowledge the receipt of your most esteemed favor of the 26th Ulto, wherein you had very kindly informed me of your having each day sent me a letter to the Post Office, but not having had the good fortune of receiving them all, I beg to inform you that upto this time I am in receipt of only 3 of your favors, of the 21st, 24th and 26th bearing the Simla Post Office seals of the 22nd, 24th and 27th May respectively on their envelopes. I beg further to bring to your kind notice that I send a man every day to the post office who now gets the letters if there is any, soon after the Dak is opened.

I have sent Ram Bhau to Surat today, with instructions to go and mingle with the Troops quartered there and to find out their general feelings as well as any machinations on part of the dissatisfied party that might be going on there, and to write to me a letter every day. Having stayed there a week and on hearing from me, he is to proceed to Baroda, where he is to find out if there are still any men of Malhar Rao's busy about some mischief or not. On his way I have asked him to stop for a few days at Bharoach too, another station where British Troops are stationed and to find out and let me know what is going on there. By tomorrow or the day after I shall send another man to Sholapur, with similar instructions as well those of discovering the feelings of the Musalman community and the name of their leader or the Imam.

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I have yesterday discovered something of utmost importance and which will give you much pleasure to hear. The youngman Jugunnath Rao whom you have seen with me, has of course made some friends here, and it is through him that I always get some trustworthy information went to the Library yesterday, in the morning, and there saw Ganesh Vasudev Joshi conversing with a number of his select members. At first all became silent; but, as by often going to his house and pressing his endeavors to improve the country in face of all resistance that he every day and every where meets, even at the expense of own private funds, he had made him his friend, he (Ganesh V. Joshi) said he is our friend and we need not fear him as he takes much interest in these things, and the conversation recommenced. G. V. Joshi was the speaker, and the others only here and there put some stray questions. He was all along complaining of the inactivity of his countrymen in not trying to atonce do away with this obnoxious rule. Now that they learned the rudiment of every thing worth knowing, they can now in a fair way go on with improving them, then why don't they now inspite of all their boasted civilization like to have the really true satisfaction of being called a free nation. After a full hour's discourse on this subject, wherein they all by turns reviled their countrymen for cowardice, want of energy, idleness, avarice, effeminacy and inclination to stick to their ancestral views, and a number of other similar faults he could not remember, G. V. Joshi rose up and said that our people have all imbibed most absurd notions of salvations of their souls and of the pleasures they will enjoy after death. In illustration here of he said. Has any of the numberless men who have hitherto died in Kashi (Benares) sent a letter to his progeny what is he feeling and where he is? They are constantly and with utmost zeal panting for really imaginary results which no one has ever come to, but still in pursuit thereof they spend vast sums, which if devoted to purposes we advice, by this time we would have long long ago arrived to the goal of our wishes the freedom of India.

Upon this another member addressed G. V. Joshi and asked, that he had in their last meeting in the beginning of this month assured them that the whole of Deccan was on the tiptoe of rising and that you had by your incessant efforts through your

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feeders of the *Sarvajanik Sabha* given a last impetus to the already prepared minds of the Sirdars and the ryots of the whole presidency, then what is it that now delays the general outburst which we had hoped to see realised on the very dethronement of Malhar Rao, etc. as that event passed off you promised that the installation of the new Gaekwad would fail, and what have you to say to have caused a total failure now. G. V. Joshi with much dejection replied to this that which we had thought to be the easiest thing has now proved to be the most difficult nay, almost impossible. He meant the military or the Government Troops. These we have failed to seduce to co-operate with us and this has upset all our plans. This our luckiest and long hoped for crisis has slipped through our fingers and we should curse the evil stars of our country; as such time is not always to come and Government is not always to commit such blunders. This portion of his speech caused a general gloom, and they separated to take their grub, which too they would not have relished that time. This is to be taken as a most trustworthy piece of news, and at once assures us of the firmness of our Troops. I myself had several interviews with Risaldar Jwala Singh, at whose place I often saw some other officers, and I am happy to say I happened always to find them most firm and really sure of their total ruin in case of the least disturbance on their part; as they plainly said themselves that when the Bengal troops had mutinied the proportion of European troops was very small and since then it has now been quadrupled; besides what is our number in comparison to the Bengal troops, and Government is every way prepared for the occasion there being no battery officers in the native hands now.

Hitherto I had considered Narayan Rao (Nana Saheb) Police Superintendent, who wrote those letters to the Poona Troops, and who was then at Baroda, but has now been banished that territory with his brother and seems to have taken up his abode at Ahmedabad was alone trying to seduce Government Troops according to the instructions of Malhar Rao. But, now this conversation of G. V. Joshi has assured me of his being at the bottom of it too. Now I doubt as to whether he has been trying in this line on his own *Sabha's* account or has seen actuated to it by Bulwant Rao Dev or some other of Malhar Rao's creature, whom he might have come in contact with when at Baroda. My

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men are roaming here all day and every where and I never fail to write to you all I get of any importance every day. Throughout all 16 days that I have been here I have not written to you only three days. It is most difficult to find honest and trustworthy men. I am ashamed to inform you that the first three men that I purposely sent to Baroda, Bombay and Sholapur on the 3rd day of my arrival here, have never written to me a single line nor written to their homes. I am getting lots of useless and foolish news every day, which it is very difficult to discover the important ones from.

With best compliments to yourself and Mrs. Bradford.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Your ever obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

[20]

Simla, 3rd June, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

YOUR letter of 28th received yesterday was very satisfactory especially as the question of every thing was borne out by every other source. I agree with you regarding the Society regarding which you have written. I do hope you have been receiving my letters regularly. It strikes me that perhaps you have not asked at the post office for letters, in which case the two first letters are there. The day before yesterday I despatched you Rs.500 and I am sending the same with this and hope it will reach you in safety.

I hope you have sent me a copy of the *Indu Prakash* of the 17th which contained the letter addressed to the Native chiefs etc. You must go elsewhere or not as you think best. I would not wish to check your movements but would leave it to you to do

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as you think advisable. Keep me informed as to where you may be going and make a good arrangement for receiving letters. It is always one of the most difficult things to arrange and give me timely notice of requiring more funds.

I am anxious to have the fullest possible information about these lectures. How often does that particular Shastri speak, the one whose speech you thought so very objectionable and is he the worst or only one of many. I shall keep this open till the mid-day post comes in.

Who is the Maratha Reporter on the Press, I mean what is his name? And what instances can you give to show that he is mixed up with the Editor of the newspaper. This is an important matter. I do not think it is worthwhile doing more about the names I want. It is evident to me that everything connected with them was regarding a time previous to the completion of the business. I.....thank you. Your information regarding the whole matter is very satisfactory indeed.

I have in vain tried to get a note for Rs.500 but cannot and consequently am obliged to send you two Hundred ones. My letter for the next day or two shall contain the rest. Thanking you for your trouble.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

[21]

Poona, 3rd June, 1875.

To

MAJOR, E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY
DEPARTMENT,
TARA HALL,
SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

I BEG herewith to send you a list of all the most dangerous characters of this place. They all belong to the *Sarvajanik Sabha*

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a select committee whereof called the *Aikya wardhani Sabha* has nearly all these with very few exceptions for its members. These are all enemies of Government and are always trying to turn the minds of all they come in contact with, from their duty to Government. They discuss in open streets for hours and hours, whenever they happen to meet anybody fond of joining their discussions, or of hearing them speak.

I have just now received couple of your esteemed favors of the 28th and the 29th May respectively. In the first you say that there is no need of my remaining in Poona, as I cannot get any useful information. Then what is your further order for me to do, go to some other place or come back to Simla. I am trying most zealously to find out the most minute items of political news that is stirring here. I have my men almost every where and do every day receive almost every word that is spoken here; but of course I write to you all that I think is worth hearing.

Doubtlessly I write to you the exact representations that I receive, besides, I myself roam for 8 hours every day and mostly depend on what I myself pick up as most trustworthy. For the first two or three days only I gave you the general rumours, ever since then I have only written to you the truth only. Of course, I say the exact and real truth only which I myself first well examine or what is seen by Jugunnath Rao or Ram Bhau or his brother-in-law.

There is but only one man who wrote those letters and his name is Narayan Rao (*alias* Nana Yushwant) brother of Bulwant Rao (*alias* Balaji Yushwant). Both these are sons of the same man Yushwant and I have already fully written to you about them immediately that I could find them out. Good Sir think in your mind how very difficult is it to find out a man, who had taken every precaution to keep himself in the shade, and under the restrictions you have enjoined me to observe and to myself being no way discovered, and much more not to let any way any one guess what was my intention in hunting after news and thank God and yourself for your own strictest precautions nobody has even guessed who I am, for what purpose I have come down to this place, and what keeps me always roaming. As for posting my letters to you I have always posted them in the Letter Box

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attach to the Railway Post Office Van, to ensure their being immediately thrown into the Bag containing the letters for Northern India, as well as not being handed by the same man every day to excite the least degree of suspicion. As for your letters they are not sent to my abode per post Office peon, but are every day received by my man as soon as the dak bag is opened at the Post Office, and those that I have already received had never had any suspicious look about them, but for those I might not have received or might not have reached yourself I cannot account. Without doubt all your letters are delivered to my man by one man only and he being a Maratha might perhaps be suspecting something what do you think of sending your letters sometimes to me, sometimes to Jugunnath Rao or Ram Bhau with the same address. The letters to the troops here as well as in other places were all written by Narayan Rao (*alias* Nana Saheb Yushwant a very devoted friend of Malhar Rao's.) This man was a Sub-judge of the Baroda civil court, while his brothers was the Police Superintendent, and in those letters he had written himself as Police Superintendent, which was his brother's rank. The letters bearing the signature of Govind Apaji Desai a false name altogether, or of some of his underlings or his brothers were written at Baroda and dated at Bombay but were posted at Sholapur by one of Bulwant* (*The second Judge of the High Court of Baroda during M. R's. reign and the patron and superior officer of Narayan Rao (*alias* Nana Saheb) Yushwant had power to have written letters with Nana Saheb's name on them, who has been only a creature of this men's) Rao's men, about whom I have written to you here this. This man has been and is still doing all the mischief here and everywhere on part of Malhar Rao, ever since his removal from Baroda. I came to hear yesterday that this man has his creatures at Surat, Bharoach, Sholapur, Bombay and Satara, who are doubtlessly trying to turn the minds of the troops and the ryots in a number of ways even with promises of money. This Bulwant Rao receives letters from all his men in above named places, but it is impossible to know the contents thereof as he reads himself and burns them. All these particulars are from the mouth of one of his servants, whom we have bribed and this man has promised to supply much information. I asked him to let me have one or more of his

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letters, and he wants 500 rupees for the attempt, which sum I cannot venture. If Government could some how or other procure some of those, some great conspiracy is sure to be exposed thereby. Being a man of limited resources I cannot make up my mind to venture any lump sum for any purpose of a doubtful nature, as dishonesty is the chief trait of native character.

With best compliments to yourself and Mrs. Bradford.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

[22]

Poona, 3rd June, 1875.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

YOU have asked me about the *Sarvajanik Sabha's* letter published in the *Indu Prakash* of the 17th May last to the address of the Holkar, the Scindia and other Rajah and chiefs of India, whether it was really written by Ganesh Vasudev Joshi or it was my own guess in reply whereof I have only to say, that when it is from the *Sarvajanik Sabha,* whereof G. Vasudev Joshi is not only Secretary but in reality the Founder and the Chief Mover, who else could in all probability have written it. The Secretary is the writer of all letters, even if proposed by the association. This association is in reality a very strong thing as mentioned by the Editor of the *Englishman.* I have procured the first proceedings and the Rules etc. of the first opening I mean the foundation of this *Sabha,* and I shall lay it before you when I come to Simla next. According to the rule contained therein, no body but who can procure a *Mookhtarnamah* from 50 influential people in the country can become a member of this association, so that this association, with its feeders (the Branch associations throughout the Presidency has through its members the voice of above 7,000 or 8,000 men already, of which G. V Joshi is the Chief Mover

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I have herewith sent you a copy of the *Indu Prakash* of the 17th ultimo.

I have in my preceding letter written to you that Bulwant Rao Deo, the late 2nd Judge of the High Court of Baroda, has his Agents at Sholapur, Surat, Bharoach and Satara, who are trying to sow seeds of rebellion in those parts. Of these Agents Hari Pant Devadhar is the name of his agent at Sholapur and Anund Rao that of the agent at Satara. I have not yet been able to discover the names of his men at Surat and Bharoach, but am trying to find out and let you know their names too by and by. Bulwant Rao receives an anonymous letter from these men, and these letters are addressed in the Telugu language and in most obscure sentences. He received a letter from his Surat Agent yesterday in the following terms that "Deputy Magistrate Narayan Kale has got scent and reported to Government, who have taken much unnecessary precautions, and frightened the women much, the fields are ready to produce good returns, but the seeds are wanting and no one to commence sowing the fields". These are the only contents of the letters the first part is plain enough and in the latter portion the women mean the Troops as they have commenced calling them, the "fields" mean their minds and the "seeds" mean money. In the same strain no man to sow the fields means the leader. The whole taken together means. The Troops are much frightened to see the precautions taken by the government on the report of the Deputy Magistrate Narayan Rao Kale of Surat. That the minds of the Troops are already well worked up but they require money which is needed and some one to take their lead.

All this is quite true and is received from the most authentic source. I am trying to intercept or get stolen one of the letters, but you can get the whole lot of them easily. I am not sure whether these are the same persons meant by the names you mentioned or not, as their names were not full in your letters. Nobody can be found out here, without his father's and caste names appended to it. For example Ganesh Vasudev Joshi. Ganesh Rao is the name of the Pleader, Vasudev Rao was the name of his father and Joshi is his caste denomination. So is Vishnu Parushuram Pandit, the Editor of *Indu Prakash*.

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When taking leave of you, you had promised to send me money immediately, I wanted. But now you say that it is difficult to remit as I shall have to wait the arrival of two letters containing the notes by halves the second whereof, are to be remitted on the arrival of the first halves receipt to you, and you know very well that being a stranger here I can command no confidence. However I shall try my utmost without it. If this man (Bulwant Rao's servant who has supplied all this information, but is very exorbitant in his demands) can be brought over to our side, I mean won over any how, he will be a great acquisition, and much will be got out of him, as Bulwant Rao is the centre of all machinations on part of M. Rao and his (M's) secret purse is in his hands.

The letter contained in the I. P. of the 17th has also been addressed at his instigation. Jefferson and Payne, and Shanta Ram Narayan are still entertained by this man on behalf of M. R. But still he is very reserved in the expenditure of money, which he possesses, I think a large sum of, and thinks all that he shall be able to save would become his, as there is little hope of any success anywhere and as a consequence he will be trying any how to show that it is gone or that he cannot get it back from the party entrusted it to. How fortunate he is.

With prayers to the Almighty for your long life and prosperity.

I remain,

Kindest and Worthiest Sir,

Yours ever obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

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[23]

Poona, 5th June, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,

INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY

DEPARTMENT, TARA HALL,

SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

WITH many many thanks I beg herewith to acknowledge the receipt of your very kind and esteemed favor of the 31st Ulto. in reply whereof I beg to bring to your very kind notice that one day's delay in the remittance of money is of no great consequence; as the balance of what you had supplied me with, when leaving Simla, having been already spent, and I most urgently requiring something very soon was obliged to write to Benares, from which place, I received a small sum, wherewith I sent R. B. to St. and intend sending another man to Sh. tomorrow. You will be really surprised to hear that the people of this city and its vicinity are never deserving of the least confidence being placed in them. In the first place they will be found ready to do anything for money, except that of betraying their countrymen. This hardness of mind against anything foreign has been brought in and is every day confirmed by the lectures and properly speaking importunities of the *Sk. Society,* and I have given you a specimen by relating to you in one of my previous letters the disappointment and the pecuniary loss I met at the hands of the three men I had just after my arrival here sent to the Sh. By and Ba, who never wrote me a single line, nor have returned to their homes, during the last fortnight.

In my last letter I informed you that A. R. was sent to Sarata (*Sic!*) (Satara), by B. Rao, and that I did not know the name of his man at Surat. Now R. B. has sent me a letter from

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that place, in which he says that the said Anund Rao is there, and holds much secret communications with the Troops quartered there. In the same letter I wrote to you the obscure letter received by B. R. from that place, but have now been informed that R. B. himself intends going there; perhaps to distribute money and take the lead or do some other mischief. This man's movements are very closely watched, and the same day that he starts, his departure will be telegraphed to you; as this man should not be allowed to roam freely whever he likes.

The man now supplying us information also goes with him and has promised to continue doing so, from anywhere that he goes to, and I have without your sanction promised him thirty rupees a month for the time. May God grant him courage to be true to his word. He says that his master is arranging about privately having money conveyed to St. I am very much afraid to spend money freely as I don't possess any hint as to how much in all can I spend, and your leaving it to me, spoil it the more, as I think all and a small sum even much.

With best compliments I remain.
Yours ever obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

[24]

Simla, 5th June, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

THERE was no letter from you yesterday and I was so busy all day that I could not prepare one to send. In all probability there will be something from you by the mid-day post. I shall enclose two more notes Rs.100 each in this. I hope all the others have reached you in safety.

I have just received your letter dated 30th May. Many thanks for it. I am glad you are able to get (?) and send a good account of everything. Altogether I think it satisfactory. There

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is one remark in your letter which I cannot quite understand viz. that you told the Shastri's "They never would be free from suspicion in the eyes of Government so long as the writer is not found out." If you said this to any Shastri they could do nothing but try and fix the writing on somebody else, which is very much worse than anything else. The great thing is to listen and not take part. I shall send you one note in tomorrow's letter and I think as soon as you consider it advisable that you may start on your return journey, unless there is anything worth staying for. Your return journey may be made useful in many ways. I will only add salams.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

Do not write your name outside the envelopes of letters addressed to me, especially avoid putting Poona on them which I observe you have done. It all attributes to it though it may contain nothing.

[25]

Poona, 6th June, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY
DEPARTMENT, TARA HALL,
SIMLA

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

WITH a thousand thanks I beg most respectfully to acknowledge the receipt of your kindest favour of the 1st instant containing an enclosure of a G. C. Note of the Bombay Circle for Rs.500 (five-hundred) only, and in reply to questions therein asked, I have to say, in the first place.

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That I am well assured that the principal Pundits of this place had no hand in that Circular. The Circular was issued no doubt by some scoundrel and in all probability at the instigation of Bulwant Rao. These Pundits had asked me the date of the *Times of India,* wherein this news was published, and had I been able to tell them the date, they would have by this time published a denial of it in that paper. Had they had the least hand in it the two Head Pundits (Shastri's) in whose name I brought introduction from Benares would never have concealed it from me. They did not even know anything about it so long as I had not mentioned it to them.

What I have written to you about the *Kirtan* of Vishnu Parushuram Shastri of Bombay is perfectly true. It was preached and received with much excitement amidst deafening applause from the assembly, which contained upwards of five hundred men, who all heard him with the utmost attention. There is not the least doubt of his being the editor and proprietor of the *Indu Prakash.* He is a very famous man in these parts I mean throughout this Presidency. He and G. V. Joshi are the two Principal movers in all affairs of *Sarvajanik* (Public) utility. There have been two other *Kirtans* and lectures on the same subject by Narayan Rao Risbood, after those what I have already described in my former letters. The subject was the same, but no indecent language and oratorical effect in them as compared with that of V. P. Shastri, who is believed to be possessing the first class oratorical powers in this country. The educated classes here are all quite dissatisfied with British Government. I cannot make out why they are so ungrateful and rather inimical to the same Government that has first given them knowledge to reason and now gives bread to live upon.

Today's *Dnyan Prakash* contains a very violent article against the government policy in the Baroda case in its editorial, wherein it blames H. E. Lord Northbrook in most harsh terms and even exults on His Lordship's defeat, that he lately met in not replying the Ex-Gaekwad's solicitors' request to see their client, which was ultimately granted by Lord Salisbury. I shall in a day or two send you a translation of the article with the paper.

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The *Sarvajanik Sabha* people are very glad today as they have by the last Home Mail received a note from the Hon'ble Mr. Leath, M. P. for Aberdeen, who laid their petition requesting to be allowed to send an agent in their own behalf to sit during every session of the Parliament, before that August Tribunal, wherein he states that the Hon'ble House of Commons has promised to pay every attention to their petition which contains nearly 23,000 signatures.

With Best Compliments to yourself and Mrs. B.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Your's ever obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

[26]

Simla 8th June, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

I DID not receive yesterday's post till late. Hence my not having time to write to thank you for it. Your letter which came yesterday is dated 1st June and consequently took a day longer than most to come. I am glad you are getting my letters now, although they seem sometimes delayed. Yet I cannot help hoping they will all reach you especially those containing money. Today I shall enclose one note for Rs.100, which makes Rs.1,000 I have sent.

I do not quite make out who Narain Rao (Nana Saheb) Police Superintendent is. Is he a Superintendent of Police at Baroda or where?

Every thing seems to be so satisfactory now that I doubt it's being worthwhile your remaining at Poona. Indeed I think you might now almost return to the North. I am much obliged for all you have written. Everything seems to have blown out. Some of our friends will talk, but there is little harm in that. You

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will I dare say have made out positively who the Shastri is, whether he is really the Editor of the *Indu Prakash* and also whether his speech on the occasion you heard him and sent me an account of was an exceptional case or one of frequent occurrence.

I dare say those you sent to Sholapur etc. when you first went down with after after a.....write to you or return. I do not think I have much to ask you now. You will bring the Lists you have made.

I leave it to your discretion when to return and by what route. Write or telegraph when you leave so that I may not write any more.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

I did not write yesterday and unless have anything special to say shall not write tomorrow.

[27]

Undated
(*Probably of 8th June,* 1875.)

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY
DEPARTMENT, TARA HALL,
SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

WITH innumerable thanks I have herewith the honor to inform you of the receipt of your very kind favor of the 3rd instt. covering two G. C. Notes of a Hundred Rupees each, as also of one of Rs.500 Five Hundred Rupees contained in yours of

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the 1st. for which I have already posted you a receipt the same day that I received it, and kindly accept my most heartfelt thanks for this pecuniary assistance, which I was at this time in great need of, having already spent every pice I had with me, as well as very nearly the small sum I had procured from Benares in this interim.

I am really very happy to hear that you are satisfied with my endeavors. I was equally, nay much more, disappointed to find from your favors of the 28th and 29th Ultos. that the information I had been able to supply till then were worthless, but the contrary has now given me fresh courage.

In reply to this favor I have to inform you, Mr. V. P. Shastri regularly delivers 2 lectures a month at Bombay and 1 lecture every month here at the *Sarvajanik Sabha's* assembly rooms.

I have already sent you a list of some of the most dangerous characters of this city, who are all of the same type with and sincerest friends of the above named Shastri. But the Shastri, and Mr. G. V. Joshi are really very extraordinary characters, and the chief movers of all anti Government measures. Of these two the latter is again far superior in this respect.

I have ere this written to you that the name of the Government Reporter on Native Press in this Presidency is Professor Krishna Shastri Chiploonkar. The most prominent evidences against him as to his being quite mixed up with the proprietors and editors of some of the celebrated vernacular papers, are first his being a member in nearly every branch committee of the *Sarvajanik Sabha* of which these papers are the organs; secondly—he has, it seems, never reported any thing against any of these papers regarding their remarks anent the conduct of Government in the late Baroda Trial and etc. thirdly he is of the same caste with the writers of these papers, and it is well known what great and firm compact exists between these people. And fourth and lastly, he is a great friend of V. P. Shastri, the Editor of the *Indu Prakash,* being of the same enlightened religions with the Shastri, who always writes against Government.

In today's '*Dnyan Chakshu*' a Vernacular paper of Poona, there is an item that the three other claimants to the throne of Baroda have declared their readiness to take oath of allegiance

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to the young Maharaja Sayaji Rao, of which Ganpat Rao and Khande Rao have already taken the oath and that Jumnabai has recommended all these three to obtain Rs.5,000 each, annually and a Jageer of one thousand rupees annual profit but Government should never place the least confidence in Sadashiv Rao, My man in Bulwant Rao's employ has advised this and promised to give information of a most important nature on receiving Rs. 200 which I am not giving. I have offered him half, provided the news is very important but, he does not abate his demand. I shall manage till tomorrow to get the news and inform you of it. Bulwant Rao's cousin, an English Master in the Baroda Camp English School, was called over by, B. R. and it is through him that he has sent a message to Sadashiv Rao, which I shall any how manage to write to you tomorrow. This man left Poona yesterday.

With best compliments to yourself and Mrs. Bradford.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,
K. N. SUKUL.

[28]

Simla, 9th June, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE just received a letter from you for which many thanks. In my letter yesterday I said I should not in all probability write today but since received your letter I wish to say that I thoroughly appreciate all the trouble you have taken and what you have sent me has been most valuable. I say this as from your letter I cannot help thinking you did not quite understand my reference to your moving elsewhere which was entirely in answer to a remark of yours. I know with what difficulty you have had and I think you have done wonders in sending me all

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you have done. The copy of the *Indu Prakash* of 17th reached me this morning also, thank you for it.

I shall write again tomorrow. As far as I can make out our letters reach all right though perhaps sometimes they are a day longer than another. Your precautions are excellent and I don't think I have missed a single letter. I daresay you will have a great deal to tell me when you return. The climate of Poona I fancy is very good now since rain has fallen. I have nothing particular to add except that you may rest assured I will appreciate all the trouble you have taken. I shall continue addressing you as heretofore unless you wish me the contrary.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

[29]

Poona, 9th June, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY
DEPARTMENT, TARA HALL,
SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

WITH numberless thanks I beg to inform you that I am in receipt of your kindest favor of the 5th instant, and as I have already written to you more at full about the subject of the Shastris in one of my preceding letters, I beg herein to draw your attention to a news of utmost importance, as it bears a most intimate connexion with the affairs which in these days entirely occupy the attention of Supreme Government.

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In my last letter but two I have sent you the purport of a note received by B. R. D. from his Surat Agent wherein was expressed the immediate want of a man to take the lead of the troops as well as money for immediate disbursement and the future expenses of the ensuing campaign. After due deliberation on the subject in writing as well as orally through his own cousin, who is an English Teacher in the Camp school at Baroda, a message to the Baroda claimant S. R., whose brother lately shot himself on finding the claims of his brother ignored, to the following effects:

> "With much difficulty our efforts are now successful, enemy's own limbs (Troops) have consented to assist us. But the head (leader) and means of universal convenience (money) are alone wanting to make the body move. So far our remedies have taken effect, it rests with you to accomplish the cure of this under-mining disease, which has in reality almost paralysed us all. If you offer to head the body, the next thing, I mean the universal remedy I have more than sufficient for the commencement of the enterprise, and am ready to sacrifice every thing to save the life, every thing will succeed and it is better to die with celebrity than live in obscurity. Be quickly up and doing, you have not a moment to procrastinate, as native mind is very changeable, who knows what turn it might take a week hence. Reply soon per man". Jeshtha light, 2nd.

This is the message, almost as exact as a second delivery orally can be expected to be. In a day or two its reply too is expected and I shall immediately that I know it write to you about it. In my opinion, these two persons also deserve removal from the field of action any how, and the best possible plan would be to call S. R. to Simla under the pretence of his personally pleading his cause, and made to accompany the Foreign Department for some months, in which time every thing would have subsided or in case anything proved against him would at once rid the country of a man, who is considered to be the most rightful heir to the throne injured by the injustice of Government. The second man, I mean B. R. D. can easily be removed anywhere like Salim and Yushwant Rao, being of no great consequence.

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In your favor you have ordered me to think of returning back. which I would rather postpone till I hear from you in reply to this, with which I venture at least to ask a further supply of at least 500 more to defray my return railway fare &c, as this thousand rupees would up-to-date leave a balance of nearly four hundred rupees which I may be required to spend in the interim. When returning I intend visiting Sholapur, Bombay, Surat; Baroda, Indore and Gwalior for only a day or two, each place, to pick up anything worth picking up in all these places, and to appoint a trustworthy.

I have just now received a letter from Ram Bhau, dated Surat the 6th June, wherein he states that the people here seem more satisfied than what we thought they would be at Poona. The troops have been visited by several emissaries of the creatures of Malhar Rao. They have even received a couple of letters from Narayan Rao (*alias* Nana Saheb), Police Superintendent and one or two from the Sholapur Regts. but they seem to pay no attention to these things and say that they are sure of the resources of the British Government, and they well understand that there is scarcely any one in India who can conduct an army against Government. They even said that we are very sorry for Malhar Rao, who has certainly suffered great injustice at the hand of Government, who are determined to destroy every independent Raja in India, let him be as insignificant as he may, provided he is independent, the Government would never let him alone but, when the Baroda troops did not assist him, what can we do. Had they shown the least resistance, when the Resident had arrested Malhar Rao or had ultimately dethroned and deported him, we would also have given out that we would not fight against our brother troops; but when his own troops obey Government, how can we be foolish enough to destroy ourselves and our prospects for one who could not make himself liked by his own troops. Is there any one in India who can head an army against the British, and can defray the expenses of a single campaign? This talk shows a decided determination of the troops to abide by Government at any rate. But, Bulwant Rao's man Anund Rao is still here trying to bring them over to his cause. He visits the troops most privately, who even deny knowing him. Although Ram Bhau assures us that the troops show

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a determination not to betray the Government but they are never to be trusted. The people of this country are very foolish and easily led by the nose in all that is worst for them. Their hypocrisy is never to be doubted but thank God, as I have first assured you the Officers, I mean the native Officers, are all very staunch as they are more intelligent and know the courage and resources of the British nation.

Bulwant Rao's man has promised to come in the evening and give the message that his Master has sent to Sadashiv Rao of Baroda. He has made me very anxious about it as he told me that so long as B. R. and S. R. are alive and at or in the vicinity of Baroda never think that there will be peace and tranquillity, as they have intriguers and money, both in their power now.

I have since I received your telegram on the 21st ulto. daily sent my man to the Post Office and hope to have received all the favors you have been kind enough to send me.

Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi came to me yesterday and remained here the whole day, I shall let you know the talk we had in tomorrow's letters more at full.

With best thanks, and Salams, I beg to remain.

Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

P. S.—Kindly enclose a few envelopes with Government of India seal on the back (I mean blank ones) as these are much feared, to use when writing something.

[30]

Simla, 10th June, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

YOURS of the 3rd Inst. has just come in, thank you very much for it. I hope the day after it was despatched or at the

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most two days you received my letter enclosing some money. I made up my mind to run the risk of it's reaching or not for I feared your being trapped for want of money. I am sorry there was some delay in it's reaching you, but I trust you were not very much inconvenienced by it's non-arrival. You must let me know whether you think notes sent in the same way is the best means of remitting money to you. Also give me timely notice of your requirements. I shall be anxious to hear what your men make out in the places they have gone. It has been quite evident the attempt to raise anything like disturbances has been a complete failure and I think altogether *your enquiries have been very satisfactory*. I am not sure whether it is worth-while paying any fixed sum for special things unless I require them for my special purpose for you have done so much as it is. I will write again tomorrow. I shall be very interested to see the paper you mention regarding the *Sarvajanik Sabha*. I have now known very much. So please excuse a short letter.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

[31]

Undated
Poona, probably of 10th June, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY
DEPARTMENT, TARA HALL,
SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

IN my yesterday's letter I had informed you that the day before I was visited by the great genius of this presidency Ganesh Vasudev Joshi, who remained at my abode the whole of that day.

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On his first arrival, he showed me an Ahmednagar paper called *The Nyaya Sindhu* or "the Ocean of Justice," which contained an article stretching over some five columns thereof and containing an account of the meeting of the Ahmednagar *Sarvajanik Sabha,* which was convened for the reception of this man who is represented by the paper as the best friend of the country and the promoter of public good. This extraordinary meeting contained upwards of 700 people of all castes, and the president where of is a rich Parsee Gentleman, who first opened the work of the committee by offering their heart felt thanks to the G. V. J. for his taking the trouble of going so far and blessing their newly—established institution with his presence. Thereupon this gentleman rose up and gave two separate dissertations; one on the advantages of a general co-operation in furthering etc. giving encouragement to everything calculated to be of material good to the country and the second on uses of opening here and there, annual public exhibitions of goods of every description, manufactured in our country only. In this meeting the tone of his speaking was altogether changed. The late article of the *Englishman* has really much terrified these people, as they are much more afraid of their *Sarvajanik Sabha* being at once abolished. For they say nothing is difficult for a man of Lord Northbrook's firmness of purpose, who is sure to accomplish any thing that he once determines to do. After G. V. Joshi had sat down the president of the Ahmednagar *Sarvajanik* Committee thanked him for the trouble he had taken and the assembly broke up. The next day they again convened a general meeting of their Committee and at the same time invited over all the artists and the manufacturing classes of the city and the neighbourhood, and there assembled no less then 900 persons on the occasion. A central and 3 or 4 branch committees were formed and members named for looking after and encouraging the various manufactures of the district etc. He first read all the columns containing the account of his doings, and then began deploring the fortune of India and its people. He said that what was the favor that our rulers first showed us and we very foolishly did not then think that there were concealed thorns under the roses and that the results of all those kindnesses were to be an entire deprivation and destitution to which this country was ultimately to be reduced in a most imperceptible manner. That how very anxious

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he is of introducing and founding similar institutions in Bengal, the N. W. P. and the Punjab, that he had sent several of his agents to Benares and Calcutta who never succeeded and now he has fully made up his mind to go there himself and then he never shall return without first founding *Sabhas* there also. He desired me to co-operate with him in this attempt and spoke a deal of sedition and treason long enough to detail. I have without your order managed to see his secrets records, which all his members too have not seen, and according to them this man deserves the last penalty of the law. He also wished me to deliver a lecture in his *Sabha* but I declined from doing so. With best Salams.

I remain,

Yours ever obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

I send a copy of the *Dnyan Prakash* of this date containing an article in English.

[32]

Simla, 12th June, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

I THIS morning received your two letters dated 5th and 6th Inst. respectively. It is a relief to me to know that you have received the first letter containing a note and I quite hope it will reach you in safety. I am sorry you feel reluctance at spending money since I leave it to you. But I think you will quite understand that it is difficult for me to mention any sum to spend on any particular work. I feel quite satisfied that what you do write will be for the best and therefore I prefer leaving it to you. *All you have sent me is very interesting and useful and I am very much obliged for it and for all the trouble you have taken and are still taking.* I am glad you have sent the

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man to St. and have settled a rate of pay in such matters. I am quite satisfied with what you arrange.

I think if you are not troubled at being in Poona it will be well for you to remain for some little time to see what your men report from the various places at which they now are. I feel quite sorry you were troubled to send for money from Benares; if you would wish any sent there to reply it, I could send you some on purpose or will you settle it afterwards.

I cannot think there is any chance now for the intriguers. The time has passed for such a thing.

Do you remember the other little business at Poona. Are any of that lot mixed up in the proceedings of the friend you have lately mentioned. You will know who I mean, Sale of House etc.

I will add no note today, but with thanks for your letters.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

[33]

12th June, 1875

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY
DEPARTMENT, TARA HALL,
SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

THE next very important news that I had in my letter of the 9th Instt. promised to bring to your kindest notice is of so private and doubtful a nature that I even when just writing it

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hesitate to give expression to it. It is of course received from a most reliable source, I mean from the Shirkey's family here. In this family Malhar Rao's daughter Kamabai Saheb is married and first their own daughter was married to the *"first Sayaji Maharaj"* in whose name the present young Maharaja has been named. So that this family having an old as well as new connexion with the Baroda Gaekwad family is really a trustworthy one.....It is an every mouth rumour here that when here she (Jumnabai) had sold off some state jewels that she had on her person, and for which she was about to be tried at Baroda lately, but owing to some political reasons not explained that plan has been given over. And, her brother, Anna Saheb Mane, who has but only a few days ago arrived here, is said to be the bearer of those jewels, which have been given out to have been sold, but in reality are not disposed of, and have only been first concealed, and now removed for fear of a search being likely to be instituted for them in her other effects. Even some of the Vernacular papers have, for example the *Prabhat Patrika* of the 11th Instt. published an article saying that it is now the wish of Government to remove her again to Poona where she is to end her days, as she has hitherto done with a pension of Rs.3,000 a month only, to maintain her in her princely style of living.

In my preceding letter I have informed you of the message that B. R. D. has sent to S. R. of Baroda and am waiting for that man's reply to his proposal. A man of the above mentioned Shirkey family has gone to Madras from B. R. D. and it is through him that Malhar Rao and his Agents interchange messages in a most secret manner, so as to be hitherto undetected. They do not send any letters now, but only men as messengers. Two such messengers arrived here yesterday from Madras to B. R. D., who has this morning sent them on to Bombay, where they will remain a day or two at the furthest and then proceed to Surat and thence to Baroda to see S. R. Of course I have not been able to know their message, but our spy in the service of B. R. D. has been made to accompany them, who is to come back with their message about what they do in Bombay, after they go forward, and if they send a letter through him it will first come to us, if some oral message only, that too will be known at the same time. Another man accompanies them privately to Surat and wherever else they

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go and shall try to penetrate the purpose for which they have been sent. More tomorrow.

With best Salams,

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

[34]

Simla, 14th June, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

No letter came from you yesterday and I have just received one without a date, but I think it must have been written on the 8th. It is satisfactory I think altogether that our friends confine themselves to talking which makes you learn so much as to their wishes and intentions. All you have told me has been very interesting and instructive and I daresay you will learn much more anon. I cannot help thinking though that finding nothing is to be (?) done things will look quite down, everything is forgotten or if not that be little talked of. I have nothing particular to add except thanks for your letter.

The list I received. Thank you.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

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[35]

Poona, 14th June, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,

INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY

DEPARTMENT, TARA HALL,

SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

I CANNOT sufficiently thank you for your last favor of the 8th instant, which came to hand just now covering a G. C. Note of Rs.100 altogether making up the whole amount of rupees one thousand which all reached me quite safely and at once put me in a proper plight to be able to discover anything else of importance to Government and interest to yourself. I am really very happy to find from your two successive letters that you are also now assured of the satisfactory state of the people of the country, as I have been since my very arrival here. As for dissatisfaction I am of the same opinion with yourself, that there is nothing, let it be perfectly a blessing that would be universally liked. There would be voices raised against that too. Whereas in the present case, a most powerful party of a most determined type of villains has not only been upset and crushed, but rather in a half bruised state removed to a distance only from the actual centre of action—there to smoulder away till every spark of villainy is extinguished in itself.

It is nothing but the ever increasing prosperity which attends British policy every where, that has this time preserved, a most undisturbed peace and security all over the country. Otherwise, there was nothing wanting to fire off the already seduced and some where excited minds of the Deccanis. The late over-assessment consequent on the settlement of the whole presidency

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has been, in several places, nay all over generally, sufficient to annoy the cultivators, as is shown by the incessant and every day disturbances that are ripe in these parts, of which you must be hearing from the papers, and which these champions of the *Sarvajanik Sabha* have taken advantage of as the fittest opportunity for their own operations of seducing the minds of the people generally who had in this interim also received a most unexpected shock and cause of excitement in the late Baroda misfortune, which again, such men as take greatest pleasure in seeing universal ruin, failed not any how to misrepresent as far as practicable, with a view to bring about the consequences they were in this conjuncture of unlucky circumstances exulting to be soon about to witness. What of troops, being composed of a crowd of the most ignorant strangers leading a desperate life, and in these parts, as I have lately found out, incessantly ashamed by these *Sarvajanik* people with most unbearable nickname of the sellers of liberty of their land with their own lives, they have also been in a number of direct as well as indirect, private as open ways tampered with are even yet being coaxed and flattered, as well as offered high promises of adequate rewards together with prospects of earning an imperishable name of the "liberators of their country from foreign rule", by the creatures of Malhar Rao's. But all these have availed not before the all suppressing and ever flourishing prosperity of the British Rule. I am here and have seen every thing and the real state, in which everything is now and had a little before this been all around here, and have felt the power of that prosperity as if it were an all conquering agent busy in rendering every thing coming before it perfectly in effectual and those of the opposite party, who had a few days before been seen strutting with unparallelled pride and selfishness are now seen on public roads quite dejected and entirely cowed down.

Yesterday the school master who first came to me and I had much quarrel with, when he said that he was praying for a second mutiny, and about whom I had long ere this written to you, came again to me and was accompanied by a number of his friends, all English students and belonging to several offices of this place. This time they commenced a quarrel amongst themselves. Some of them were blaming Government and others most ably defending them for their conduct in the late Baroda affair. They tried

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much to make me take part in their dispute but as per your order of never speaking but only listening to what they said I kept perfectly neutral, and towards the end they asked me my opinion of the matter, but I asked them to excuse me, as I am yet unable to form any opinion thereupon, excepting this that whatever Government has done is highly beneficial to the Raj of Baroda. Thereupon they asked me, whether I found any fault with them and with what course they were following for the improvement of their country. Of course, in reply I was obliged to speak a lie, and say that their plan was really a very wise one, and that if their *Sabha* continues to work in this very manner for a few years more, they may expect to become the redeemers of their almost ruined country. They however did not believe in the sincerity of what I said for they continued talking for a long time sometimes with me, and sometimes among themselves and from the tenor of their yesterday's conversation in my presence I was led to believe that they begin to suspect me now. Although they did not say anything openly, still they made a great many remarks, which all were to the purpose that the natives of the Northern India are very honest and faithful to their masters, they would even betray their family, friend and dearest relations for the sake of being called honest and faithful which is not the case with us as well as other people who have the least love for their country at the bottom of their hearts. I however only kept hearing and nodding my head to all they said till they parted in the evening. I only suspect they have managed to get any of your letters to me from the post office, or by only seeing the Government seal on them, that the post Delivery Clerk has suspected something and told them all or what, but they begin suspecting me now.

The first man that I sent to Sholapur, and who never wrote anything to me, had been arrested there as a spy and after being detained there so many days has now this morning arrived here under police guard to be examined as to his being no dangerous character, which he will easily be able to do here, but thank God, he has not spoken a single word about us, notwithstanding he was put to so much trouble and difficulty.

I have merely been told by his brother today that he arrived here this morning in this plight, and so long as he is not set free

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I can know nothing of what happened to him there. He behaved very honestly and faithfully not to mention us to be any way connected with his trip there. It is now six days ago that the other man went there and he too wrote one letter the day he arrived there and nothing since. They say the police are very vigilant there and so is the case here too, against strangers only not against the determined traitors. A jemadar and some of his men come to me every two or three days to ask how long I was going to stay here more. Kamabai's husband's younger brother came here last night from Bharoach via Surat and left this morning for Satara.

With humblest Salams.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

[36]

Poona (Undated).

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY DEPARTMENT,
TARA HALL,
SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

I HAVE several times before this written to you that the wicked geniuses of Malhar Rao were—

1. Govind Rao Mama, 1st Judge, High Court, Baroda.
2. Bulwant Rao Dev, 2nd Judge, High Court, Baroda.
3. Martand Rao, 3rd Judge, High Court, Baroda.
4. Hari Pant, 4th Judge, High Court, Baroda.

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5. Hariba Dada Gaekwad, a procurer, Private Dewan.
6. Bulwant Rao Rahurkur, Assistant Dewan.
7. Nana Khanvelkur, Dewan.
8. Bulwant Rao Yushwant, Superintendent of Police.
9. *Narayan Rao Yushwant, Civil Sub-Judge.
10. Damodar Pant.

Of all these Govind Rao Mama had made Gopal Rao Mairal, when dying, pay ten lacs of rupees, to Malhar Rao, to be allowed to adopt a son, and was thereupon created chief justice and had got great control over Malhar Rao. He was accessory in having many Mahajuns plundered and introduced No. 2, who got the post of his colleague. But this No. 2 was the most machinating man in Baroda, and the evil adviser. On some most unfortunate day for him he earned 1,000 Rs. A little before Malhar Rao's arrest, he advised M. R. to open the private Gaekwadi Treasury and set aside all available cash with some of his most confidential men, as he said M's hand in poisoning the Resident having been discovered, there will be no end to the bad treatment that he will have to receive at the hands of the Government. At that time nothing but money will be of any assistance. Accordingly the whole amount of private Treasure, consisting of very valuable jewels and Gold mohurs was divided into three parts and nearly equally deposited with Govind Rao Mama and Bulwant Rao, and the third portion consisting of Gold Mohurs was deposited with Damodar Pant and Mohite (Malhar Rao's brother-in-law), who with the assistance of Damodar Pant changed his portion into notes, which were discovered after M's arrest by the police officer and came under the charge of the Resident. On M. Rao's accession to the throne of Baroda, Gopal Rao Mairal was made Dewan at the intercession of the British Resident. But, having become a little indisposed Nos. 1 and 6 (who though his assitt., did not in the least care for him, being the most intimate friend of the sovereign) managed with the Doctor to poison him and thus rid the country of a man famous for his wealth, wisdom, liberality, effability and kindness throughout the Deccan. Every Bazar was closed for a day when the news of his death spread over the country. Ever since is to be dated the misfortune of Malhar Rao, and whole Baroda. So long as Gopal Rao lived,

*This man wrote those letters to the British Troops at the instigation of Bulwant Rao Dev under the assumed title of his brother.

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Malhar Rao, though surrounded by his hellish parasites, was kept within bounds. Nana Khanvelkur, brother-in-law of M. R. was made the Dewan, and having had No. 6 as his assistant, he thought of nothing, but administering to the devilish wants of his master, at the sacrifice of public, as well as private honor, wealth and interest, and thus filling his own and his creature's pockets. This did not continue long and British Government interfering No. 7 was apparently deprived of his place, and No. 6 having made himself very soon odious to the Maharance even, was by a conspiracy of Kamabai, Malhsabai and a prostitute of M. R.'s, served with a perpetual imprisonment. Ultimately No. 2 became the chief planner of evils and Nos. 3 and 4 were his chief advisers, while Nos. 5, 8, 9, 10 were the executors thereof, and No. 1 was the medium of communication between them and the Master to whom he had an unrestricted access, and by praising the pains of his agents procured orders of daily rewards, in which he received a moiety. These men are all his still and B. R. D. *is now the projector of every conspiracy, the Treasurer and in fact the centre of all machinations on his part, the others are all his assistants in this great cause. Even his superior No. 1 also, acknowledges his superiority and obeys his injunctions. Correspondence in all these places which is highly necessary as per your instructions I received when taking leave of you, and a man of the same place would be cheaper and fitted to get better information than a stranger. It would require to select a man of a proper stamp everywhere, and who all would require to be paid something at least in advance, to assure them that they would receive something always according to their services. I require your explicit orders regarding this. I would have asked for a thousand more, but I dare not, as it seems too much, so long as I do not give you an account of the items on which I have spent it. Not having received any specified orders as to myself I won't take any amount for my own use, and would only use it to serve political ends.

I have with much difficulty managed to see the secret records of the *Sarvajanik Sabha* and it has opened my eyes to a great many things, which will be highly interesting to you. But I don't think them fit to be communicated in writing as in the first

*Bulwant Rao Dev.
†Malhar Rao.

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place they would be too long and secondly if known would endanger me.

I hope to receive another news of a very important nature very soon and shall communicate it immediately.

If you think it proper to send me an order to leave Poona in reply to his, please discontinue addressing your letter to Poona thereafter, as when I am not found here they might be opened by the delivery clerk, who already suspects them as they bear Government of India stamps and yesterday he was asking my man whether I was any way connected with Government.

With best Salams to Yourself and Mrs. Bradford.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,
K. N. SUKUL.

P. S.—Excuse bad writing and haste as I am always obliged to write in haste and at night.

[37]

Simla, 15th June, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

IN your last letter that I received yesterday which has come today, you mention that Mr. V. P. Shastri delivers regularly 2 lectures a month in Bombay and one lecture in the *Sarvajanik Sabha* Assembly Rooms. You will no doubt attend the meeting and let me have as full particulars as possible of what passes. Is there any fixed day on which he delivers his lectures? And do you know the places where he lectures in Bombay.

I have just received your capital long letter of the 9th June, for which many thanks. I hope Mr. G. V. Joshi did not visit you having discovered what you are residing at Poona for.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
E. R. C. BRADFORD.

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[38]

Poona, 15th June, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY DEPARTMENT,
TARA HALL,
SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

WITH a thousand thanks I beg herewith to acknowledge the receipt of your most esteemed favors of the 9th and 10th Instants, both which came to hand by this morning's post.

In my yesterday's letter I had informed you that I now begin to be suspected here as a Government spy from Calcutta or Simla, and as a consequence all my educated Maratha friends seem quite changed in their behaviour towards me. In a manner they now begin to avoid me and even G. V. Joshi has commenced to show symptoms of fearing to speak anything before me, and I fear he has somehow discovered that I have seen his private papers, for when I met him last evening at a mandir which he has built and endowed, he began telling me that Government has sent some Bengalee spies to pry into their secrets, and they have been trying to bribe their man to show them their private records. This is very improper, and if they have even seen them through the treachery of their man, what can they effect by doing so. They shall never be able to prove and establish anything against them. Although I knew that all this was directed at ourselves, still I had no other resource than that of expressing my own regret at it.

You know very well that a guilty man is always fearing discovery and consequently very suspicious, even of his friends and nearest and dearest relations. Under similar circumstances the people of Poona having very treacherous thoughts in their hearts, are very much afraid of Government. Our first arrival

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created no wonder, but our stay being prolonged they began to suspect something, and first they privately tried to consult our servants, but as of these I have brought only the most trustworthy, they found out nothing from them. Ultimately they had recourse to the post office, where they have their friends, and it was there that their suspicions were only a few days ago confirmed, when the delivery clerk informed them that I occasionally receive a letter from Simla bearing the Government of India seal on it. This has filled their minds with utmost consternation, and some of my best friends (Marathas) were called before a committee of those members, who are Government servants yesterday, and made to swear and speak on oath what they knew about us, but they having no knowledge of anything, notwithstanding they remain more than 10 or 12 hours here every day, they swore that their conjecture was totally wrong, that we were neither Bengalee nor either ever trying to discover anything through them, but they were very little believed, and after due deliberation it was resolved to give over for some time (till we remained,) writing, speaking, lecturing or preaching anything publicly against Government, and at the same time writing in all their papers some thing in praise of Government as well as in their own vindication, in order to appease Government and to make them believe that these people have no treachery or disloyalty at their hearts, whatever they say and do is only out of pure good will, love of justice and truth and patriotism. This morning there appeared an article in the *Dnyan Prakash* wherein after much prefatory dissertation, declaring it quite impossible for Government to know the character and feelings of these people by merely visiting these parts as Mr. Grant Duff lately did, but it would be quite easy to know these if the present Government officials condescended to mix most indiscriminately with the natives as the late officials used to do before the mutiny; they say that one or two Bengalee spies have been sent by Government to watch the people of Poona, and they are very sorry at this mistrust shown by Government of a portion of their subjects, who think Government as children do their parents, and like children never fear to cry for their least grievances before their parents, and the majority of these people are night and day sitting with snuff in their pinches

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on the gutters or the shops of perfumers, most sincerely praying for the prosperity and perpetuity of British Rule in their country That they are only sorry to find Government so distrustful of them as to send spies to report on their movements after the Baroda affairs, as these spies as usual are sure to represent the handfuls of their faults as mountains and cats and lions, as it is always the case; and that they now hope that Government will hence forwards trust them better and think all movements are purely for the sake of justice and the advantages of their country.

As I have now known everything worth knowing here, I shall herewith request the favor of your discontinuing to address me any more in this place, which I hope you would do long before this as requested in a preceding letter, wherein I had solicited permission to visit certain places and commence my return journey, and had also wanted some more money. I am in fact only waiting a reply to that to start from this place, of which I can now get the most trustworthy information at any distance.

With best respects,

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

[39]

Simla, 16th June, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE just received your letter without date in which you give me the purport of the reply sent by B. R. D. to S. R. It certainly seems important but I shall like to hear the answer given. It seems to me that a man like that can talk for his own purpose without any intention of acting.

My further letter will have asked if you could do so without inconvenience to remain at Poona for a time. If you think

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however any persons insult you of being there for any objection I would leave but that you can tell better than I can. I will shortly send some more money.

What you propose with regard to other places on your return journey is just what I wish. But I will write to you about this. I will of course directly I hear from you discontinue writing to Poona. You could telegraph if you change your address or think it wise to move I shall discontinue sending the envelope which I have hitherto sent and I will have this directed by another hand.

I think it would be unwise for you to send me Government of India stamped letters. It is much better they should come as they used to. You most take care to disarm any suspicion of your being in correspondence with me or anybody up here or there would be no use in the information. I will write again to-morrow. Believe me.

Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

Is S. R. at Surat?

[40]

Poona, 17th June, 1875.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

TODAY'S post brought me your kindest and most esteemed favor of the 12th Instant. Please accept my most heart felt thanks for the trouble.

This day I have received a letter from St. which says that there are about half a dozen of B. R's men there busy about tampering with the Troops there. My man having met one of these men, who is his friend stopped at his place, and you will no doubt be very glad to learn that this man told R. B. that their master was quite foolish in ordering them to try at an impossibility and that too when the time had slipped away. That man also told R. B.

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that nothing can embolden the Troops to think of rising against Government who never yet forget the consequence of the last mutiny to the army that mutinied. That that mutiny is never to be equalled now, and it had moreover taken Government all unawares, while now they are ever since its suppression, always prepared to meet it at any rate and at a moment's notice. This he said was the saying of the troops themselves, who also said that M. R. being far removed from Baroda, and lying in the clutch of Government cannot now be reinstated by any efforts on their part and that their rising would ultimately be the cause of a total destruction of themselves and the whole Baroda Raj, and Government is to suffer proportionately much less loss. Under these circumstances, the man said, only Anund Rao and his son are still faithfully maintaining a regular communication with the troops, while they (four) have secretly given up the thing as impossible, but as their master was unceasingly paying them well, why may they for mere honesty's sake deprive themselves of it. This shows that his own men are not faithful to him, and very little can be hoped from such agents. Such is native character. It is very difficult to find an honest man in India.

R. B. has as his letter says sent me 5 successive letters from St. of which I have received only two. He has now gone to Baroda.

I have likewise received another letter from St. which says that such prohibition is exercised there that no stranger is allowed to enter the lines, unless he is a relative of the sepoys. Even the city people are kept aloof, nor are the troops allowed to go to the city for fear of bringing cholera with them. The troops themselves have received very strict orders not to converse with any stranger, and if discovered in so doing they are to be punished; so they have hitherto arrested no less than 20 persons on suspicion of being dangerous characters. All letters to the sepoys are opened before their officer, and some suspicious letters have also been discovered in this way. This is capital arrangement indeed.

My man who accompanied the men from Madras has not written to me any letter as desired. He is expected back in a day or two, and then I shall be able to know the reply of S R. to B. R's proposal.

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Today there has appeared another article in another paper called the *Prabhat Patrika* here. This paper is conducted by Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi himself, and herein he has published much against me, telling the people of Poona to beware of us, as we seem to be strange people and in all probability Government spies. Therein he has advised me to leave Poona and go away, as our vocation has been found out now, and we won't be able to deceive the Poona people any further. There are people of every sort every where. A friend of mine told me this morning that I did not know why G. V. J. was so much afraid of us. He told me that he had during the sitting of the Baroda Commission offered to pay a lac of rupees to Sergeant Ballantine for the defence of Malhar Rao and he has been spending large sums here too in prayers, etc. that were performed for his restoration which cost him nearly 10,000 Rs. and he is afraid I might not be reporting against him.

With best Salams.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

[41]

Simla, 18th June, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE received this morning your letter, dated 12th for which I thank you. I shall be anxious to hear the reply to B. R. D's message. I think the time is gone bye...but still it is interesting hear what passes. I should like much now to hear what you gather is the general feeling with regard to the whole Baroda business. If you can send me a memo on this I shall be glad to have it. I think you must meet people of all sorts and can give me a good idea of the general feeling. I mean general in contradiction to that of such men as Joshi who lecture at the Sabha

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and elsewhere. I have just received a parcel containing some fine apples which I see came from Poona and concluded therefore you must have sent them. Thank you for having thought of me (?) The journey is rather a long one for so tender a fruit and they arrived rather the worse for it.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

[42]

Poona, 19*th June,* 1875.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

AFTER acknowledging the receipt of your kindest favor of the 14th instant and tendering my warmest thanks for the same I have to bring to your kindest notice the fact of there being a notice served to Her Majesty, the Queen of England in the *Indu Prakash* of the 7th June advising Her Majesty of the most unjust and cruel manner, in which the Government of India has behaved in the case of His Highness Malhar Rao Gaekwad and that they (the paper) are going to give Her Majesty an idea of the dissatisfaction that has since his (Malhar Rao's) deposition prevailed throughout the whole country so that if Her Most Gracious Majesty, does not take immediate and decided steps to have the matter a second time inquired into by some special officials of her Royal confidence, there is every chance of there occurring a Universal disturbance throughout the country, the effect whereof will no doubt be most disastrous to Her Most Gracious Majesty's British and Indian subjects, when according to a native proverv, nothing would avail to mitigate its fury so long as it will not have exhausted itself in murder, arson, and plunder of a most inhuman nature. The proverb runs as follows: "It is worthless to commence digging a well after one becomes extremely thirsty".

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This notice is contained in the correspondence columns, while there are two very long articles in the Editorial columns also besides a number of articles quoted from the *Vanity Fair, the Standard,* the *Statesman* and other English papers charging most mercilessly His Excellency the Viceroy as to his inability in the management and administration of so large and differently populated country as India is.

There are very strange rumours also afloat here in these days. They say that the Home Government is also much displeased with Lord Northbrook, but in order to save him from disgrace they have sent the Duke of Buckingham, as the Governor of Madras, on whose arrival Lord Northbrook has been privately advised to resign his post of Governor-General and Viceroy of India by Telegram, which would be immediately granted and the Duke of Buckingham would immediately succeed him as the Viceroy of India. There is another rumour in the native lines of Troops here. They have been ordered always to hold themselves ready for march at a moment's notice, and the Troops have spread a rumour to have heard that Maharaja, Sir Jung Bahadur of Nepaul has been arrested by Government and there is to take place a very great fight between our Government and the Nepaulese in the course of a week or a fortnight.

With best Salams,

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently.

K. N. SUKUL.

[43]

Poona, 20th June, 1875.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

I AM in receipt of your kindest favor of the 15th Instant today and beg herewith to tender my warmest thanks for the same.

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What you therein ask me about V. P. Shastri's lectures etc. I beg to reply as follows. There is no fixed time for his lectures etc. He in all probability comes to Poona once every month, though sometimes he continues longer in Poona itself. Whenever he comes here he is sure to deliver a lecture in the S. Assembly Rooms or some other building most suited for the purpose. But in Bombay as his duties of the Managing Editor and Proprietor bind him to that place during the time that he remains there he generally delivers one lecture every fortnight at *Kibe's Rooms* or the *Prarthana Samaj* or in any other Public Institution, where he is invited to, as is often the case. On my return I shall go to Bombay, for a few days, and shall then inform you more at full on the subject.

Mr. G. V. Joshi came to me once and I have given you a full account of that day's talk with him. He never came to me since, and now seems to be much displeased with me, as he seldom sees towards me even if he meets me on the way.

The disturbance of the *Ryots* is much on the increase in the country all round Poona and Ahmednagar, as well as in other Districts of this presidency, and I fear this *Sarvajanik Sabha* is at the bottom of it. I do not only guess, but am rather sure of the fact. For in the first place they had very loudly cried against the new assessment of the presidency, had even written to the Government of India about it. But no attention having been paid to their cries and groans they began writing in the papers and holding extraordinary meetings for considering over the plans of doing away with it, and I am sure they had first advised the *Ryots* of these parts to take legal measures against Government which too they (the poor *Ryots* did), but it produced no useful result, and as at this time that they rather invoke a mutiny, and have put them to make open disturbances. They commit robbery, arson, and even cut off the nose and ears of the Marwari Mahajuns who inhabit these villages, burn their account books and other papers, and in some places drive the Marwaris out of their villages only. In some places their concourse numbers above a thousand men. Government is trying much to put these disturbances down, but as soon as it is quelled in one place, it breaks up in another. 850 men more have been added to the Poona police for this very purpose, but the thing has not stopped

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yet. The increase in the revenue alone is given out to be the cause of it. The *Ryots* say they cannot pay the Government demand as well as that of the Mahajuns, who are also very cruel. In one village alone, these *Ryots* have forced all the Mahajuns of that village to give up all these (*sic*) (their) bonds etc. to the amount of some Rs.15,000 which they immediately destroyed. These *Ryots* are being arrested and punished according to their merits every day, but the inhabitants of other parts are instigated incessantly and rise up somewhere every day so as always to be keeping the police authorities busy about them every day.

Is this not calculated to be very dangerous in another point of view? Yourself must be hearing of this from the papers, there is no doubt, but having never asked anything about it, I was led to believe that it has yet not been represented to you in the light, it deserves, and so I have given you a short account of it. Government should at once step in and take strict measures to stop it at once. If not it would continue on and, might perhaps in this slow and unperceivable manner the whole country would become excited and may in the end take a different course altogether, and the *Ryots* begin to demand something else than what they are now complaining against. It is first most difficult to excite a large number of men but when once excited they are easily managed and rendered desperate, and once brought to this state they would commit anything. When the whole country rises, as the Vernacular papers of these parts are now threatening Government that such would be the consequence if Government does not attend to their grievances, it may become very dangerous in the end. Troops who are also receiving unceasing stimuli from the dangerous characters said to have been spread by the creatures and well-wishers of Malhar Rao may also stir them and under this pretence may commence, what they are now so much hesitating to do for a hundred more weighty reasons. With sincere hopes that Government will at once take notice of this dangerous disturbance among the *Ryots* here.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently.

K. N. SUKUL.

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[44]

Simla, 21st June, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

YOUR letter dated 14th which reached me yesterday makes me think that if your suspicions regarding your friends doubting you are correct it would certainly be advisable for you not to remain at Poona any longer, but as of course by the time this reaches you you will be able to form a better opinion of the point I will leave it to you to do so or not as you think advisable. I should I think keep clear of the places where you might be troubled and return perhaps to Benares first then make a new start for Gwalior etc. I cannot understand why a man should have been arrested at Sholapur unless he was very stupid. I only hope he did not mention you and that you have not let him know the least why you sent him for information.

If you make up your mind please send a Telegram "Leave for Benares or wherever it may be such and such a day and send letters to such and such a place". It will be necessary to remember that the post takes several days and therefore in order to give time for me to discontinue writing it will be necessary to remain after Telegraphing the time my last letters will reach unless you can arrange for them being forwarded.

I wish only add Salam.

Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

[45]

Simla, 22nd June, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE just received your's dated 15th and after reading it I am most anxious you should leave Poona. I did not understand

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from your previous letter that you had made up your mind to start. I hope you will receive this safely but I shall not write after this. I have not sent quite as much money as you said you would require, but I can send the rest when I hear from you to Benares or elsewhere. I hope in the meantime what I send will enable you to start. I have no means of sending the whole sum and think it better merely to risk what I send and not delay you any longer.

I think you will understand that this is the last letter I shall send you at Poona. I am sure whatever your friends may think or say you have done no body any harm whatever. Travel by any road you think advisable and visit any of the places you mentioned, but I think I should come to the north west.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD

[46]

Poona, 22nd June, 1875.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

WITH numerous thanks I beg to acknowledge the receipt of the most esteemed of your favor of the 16th inst. and in reply have to inform you that the source from which that purpose of B. R. D.'s note to S. R. was derived is perfectly authentic. A man whom I have employed here and who is Ram Bhau's brother-in-law is very honest, faithful and zealous in the performance of every work, whatever, entrusted to him, and it is in his house that that servant of B. R. D. is living from his very infancy. In fact this man being an orphan, has been supported by him, and as a consequence would never be faithless to his benefactor. When first this man was asked to give us some information, he could not be made to agree to it, as he said it was to be very injurious to the interests of his master, if at all exposed and it was only when much pressed by this man that he has given this information. It

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is very difficult among these men to get married without money and thousands of men die unmarried, and it was only by promising to have him married that he consented to it. Still he fears much and it is not without much regret and real sorrow that he tells anything, when much pressed. When going to Bombay with men who came from Malhar Rao he had promised to write us of what takes place there; but up to this time he has sent us no letter, either as he would have got no opportunity of so doing or more probably there being no one to press him to do so. He is not a very cunning man, but only a plain and modest man; and having fully assured myself, of the truth of the report I have written it to you and you may quite depend on it.

That young man has returned today and a continuation of the whole strategem will be pumped out of him in the course of today and tomorrow and then communicated to you immediately. S. R. is at Bombay now. B. R. D. had sent his cousin to him with the message, but he (S. R.) had in the meantime, removed to Bharoach (under orders of Government as is given out here) where this messenger met him and the very next day the (S. R.) came to St. and having remained there a day he has come to Bombay where he has put up now, and I am sure is well watched by the Police there, and if not so Government should always have him kept under some careful eyes, as the greater half of the Baroda affair discontent is holding him as the central point of action. Till tomorrow I shall be able to give you the most minute details of all that has taken place in this interim.

I shall positively leave Poona on Monday next the 28th current, unless in this interim I happen to receive any other order from you to remain here, and beg herewith the favor of your discontinuing to write to Poona after receiving this. But should rather direct to Bombay to wait arrival at the Post Office.

On Sunday last, about a thousand members of the *Sk. Sabha* had assembled at a place called Khoonia Moorlidhar, where it assembles every Sunday since the Sunday before, and the Secretary having spoken much upon the advantages of Union, which is so much required in India proposed that such of the Members as hate lately made up their minds to wear country, instead of

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English, manufactured cloths and other goods, should take formal oaths to the purpose, and more than 400 persons took the required oath never to use any European goods and when the society was about to break, a friend of mine (a Maharashtra by caste and a native of this place) was there and somebody having pointed him out as our agent and the Secretary G. V. Joshi in his vehemence was carried off beyond direction and bawled out that he will kill any one that will betray them! This man asked for some explanation of his conduct and he said that in a short time everything will become manifest.

There is a first class Sirdar in these parts called Pant Sachiv, having a small territory under his management. In this territory there lives a tribe of Marathas called the Ramoosee tribe. This tribe is considered the most brave throughout this Presidency and they are very much feared by the surrounding country. The name of the Headman of this tribe is 'Kalya' and even the Sachiv, the proprietor of the whole territory fears this man and to secure him on friendly terms with himself, gives him a fixed allowance, in addition to the land under his cultivation, which he holds free of rent. The whole tribe obeys him most obediently and even the surrounding tribes respect him as the leader of the tribe which is their superior in point of courage and manliness. People from Baroda who generally come to B. R. D. have with some of his men gone to instigate this tribe to rise. B. R. D. is living here under the protection of the *Sk. Sabha* and this *Sabha* has also sent their own men with B. R. D.'s men to ask that tribe to take up arms against the British Government who must look to this from beforehand.

Rajah Sir Dinkur Rao has also arrived here four days ago, and has taken up his abode in a bungalow near the Railway station. He is said to be determined to stop here, during the whole of the monsoons. Who knows what is his purport in doing so, whether he is come here to see what the people in these parts say about him and the Government of India, or give a kind of stimulus to the minds of the already disaffected people and the much tampered British Troops. My informant says he has been invited over by the *Sk. Sabha* to become a supporter of the views of this community, and he also said that he would become a private supporter thereof always assisting it as far as practical

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with proper advices, but he cannot at the present conjuncture of circumstances openly venture to have any connection therewith; as the Government has in these days become very doubtful and suspicious of its most devoted subjects even.

My own conjecture runs as follows—that he has been called over by B. R. D. the Agent of Malhar Rao to assist him in instituting an appeal against the decision of the Indian Government in the British Parliament to take up the management of this appeal in his own hands publicly or privately as the occasions require, or as it better suits him. It is he I am sure who has advised Sir Salar Jung of Hyderabad to ask the Government of India to allow Malhar Rao to remain in his territory as some other state prisoners do in Nepaul. However I have not yet received any true information as regards the cause of his choosing to remain here in these days and for so long a time. I shall inform you as soon as I happen to know anything. However his stay here is no way good at all, and Government must on knowing this use all their precaution and influence to wish him to leave these parts immediately.

With best Salams.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

P. S.—Your humble servant Jugunnath Rao, begs to tender his best respects to yourself.

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[47]

(*Undated*).

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,

INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY DEPARTMENT,

TARA HALL,

SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

LAST night I met a share holder of the *Dnyan Prakash* newspaper of Poona, who being a native of Baroda was going home on some emergency. The talk turning to the state of things at Baroda, this man said that we have lost all hopes of ever finding justice at the hands of Government in political matters. He also said that of late we were beginning to believe Government very lenient and just, but this Baroda misfortune has opened our eyes and we are no longer in the dark. Although towards the close of his career Malhar Rao had become, this man said, quite repulsive, yet nobody desired his removal, and his sudden ruin excited general compassion and the public most sincerely liked him on account of the moderation and resignation with which he submitted to all the indignities to which he was successively exposed. Latterly people had become so very partial that they had most resolutely determined upon risking their lives in killing Gajanan Vithul and Damodar Pant once, Priv. Secretary. But notwithstanding a number of conspiracies were formed and several most desperate characters undertook the execution of the plan success attended not their endeavors. He also told that Baroda has been famous for its *Desperadoes* and some of them will still try to rid their Raj of this bastard's rule by trying to kill him somehow, anyday. This last sentence deserves much consideration and who knows if this man might be going there, at somebody's request I mean Bulwant Rao Dev etc. On his reaching Baroda, Ram

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Bhau who is there and has been noticing most minute circumstances there would as this day desired furnish every information regarding this man too.

Hundreds of people from Baroda arrive here every day of which some put up at the *Dharamshala* next door to us. A man named Kareem Bakhsh is stopping here today. He came from Baroda last night. He has been a *moosahib* to Khunde Rao, for 15 years and to Malhar Rao during his time. He is a Lucknow chap, and had been a friend of Wajid Ali Shah's as he seems to know everything of that Durbar most minutely. He conceals himself as to what he was during Wajid Ali's time. He was much lamenting this change, and seems to have left Baroda under some orders, though he denies it. He said that Baroda was a blessing for us, but it is destroyed now, British Government has now kept a parrot instead of the Raja. It has not only the cage to limit its flight but is also tied over all limbs to disable its movement. They say it would talk the same it would be taught to do. The Sirdars etc. he said, who did all this are now weeping tears of blood for when have English men favored the traitors after they have served their interests. Now, the Resident has ordered their Jagirs to be reduced to one-fourths and if so happens; these men can raise the whole country to arms which is sure to take place one day. He shan't return to Baroda so long as native rule is not re-established there.

With best Salams.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

It has been raining most incessantly here for these 3 days and I hear there is cholera at Simla of a bad type.

CC-0. Agamnigam Digital Presevation Foundation, Chandigarh

[48]

(*Undated*)

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY DEPARTMENT,
TARA HALL,
SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

THE letter I mentioned yesterday, has been sent today. I have seen it with my own eyes, and there is not the least doubt now as to the truth of the whole correspondence. I had a mind to take the letter but the man became quite disconsolate and said he would be killed if his master only knew that the letter has been meddled with. I even proposed to him to take a copy of it but how could we have affixed B. R. D.'s seal to it. Then I proposed to him to elope altogether, but in that case first we could n't have got any further information on the subject and secondly the man would not agree to the proposal. He said he can't remain long undiscovered, and that the least discovery of his faithlessness would cost him his life. He became so very embarrassed, that he began to cry and in his despair he even said that he has got this reward for his fidelity to us. However he shall lose his life, but shall avenge himself against us by speaking whatever he shall like against as. I had however by this time taken a note of the letter and made it over to him saying that we were only joking and we did not really wish to take it away from him as having seen it we did not care about it any more. Having rewarded him for the service he had done, we allowed him to go, as it was getting late after first strictly enjoining him to be always informing us of what course that matter took under the joint machinations of B. R. D. and G. R. Mama, who was centred at Bharoach, whom S. R. first repaired to and having received some pecuniary assistance came over, via Surat to Bombay and is

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thinking of appealing to the Parliament against the injustice of the Government of India in his behalf. The reply said that what we had with so much troubles and at so much sacrifice of money and according to the orders of M. R. now succeeded in effecting you don't seem to consider as a blessing. If you let pass this opportunity without striking a blow, who can be responsible for the minds of a multitude after a six month or a year? Who can say that this multitude will be allowed to remain here so long? If you fail to take hold of this opportunity, everything is spoilt and we shall have nothing to do with you. I am greatly disconcerted to hear the result of your interview with the officers at Surat, and fear it has relaxed their minds even now and it won't cost a little to restring them to the same pitch. However I am immediately going to St. to look after this. Make up your mind at once and write to me per bearer immediately and you will find everything ready by the end of this week, if not we shall think you wanting in manliness. Be quick and careful." B. R. D. has accordingly proceeded to St. today by the morning train.

The disturbance in the mofussil made by the *Ryots* has been instigated by the Brahmin members of the Poona *Sk. Sabha* and its branches. Some man has promised to furnish me with proof of this statement. If true, it will be very useful. It is incessantly raining here since three days. It is impossible to get out.

With best Respects,

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

The Tope house case is progressing, but best legal authorities say that they shan't be able to get it . . . . . .

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[49]

Poona, 23rd June, 1875.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

TODAY I have received your kindest favor of the 18th Instant and in reply beg to inform you that the man sent to S. R. did not find him at B-a, and had to come back to him at Bharoach, and having delivered to him the message received the following reply: That he (S. R.) intends doing nothing so long as he does not hear of the result of M. R.'s appeal to the English Parliament during which time he has also made up his mind to institute an appeal to that Tribunal if he succeeds in securing the assistance of some rich man, as his legal advisers give him most sanguine hopes of success in case of M. R.'s failure. This reply is very satisfactory with respect to our (Government's) cause; but B. R. D. has become very much irritated to hear it. He has written another letter to S. R. today, the purport whereof I shall be able to give you tomorrow, as our man is to take it to S. R. by the 8-30 A.M. train tomorrow and he has promised to show it to me early in the morning. B. R. D. has also told the man to tell S. R. that he will leave this for St. by the 2 o'clock train tomorrow afternoon. He seems very much disconcerted and quite miserable since he has received this reply from S. R. The man informed me that he has not tasted anything today.

As for the general feelings of the people in this Baroda affair I have to inform you that nearly sixty per cent of the Poona people are dissatisfied with the proceedings of Government in this matter. They do not feel the least for Malhar Rao's sake, but what they lament is for the disgrace of the State. The ex-Gaekwad is represented quite unfit to govern the State but they say that the nationality has suffered. The Brahmins say they can never hope to get so much alms now under the present management of the territory. The warlike classes fear the troops are never to be allowed to remain hereafter, and Sir S. M. R.'s immediate disbanding of some of the Gaekwadi troops even so soon has the more

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confirmed them in their ideas; while the Marathas of the lower classes, who got menial employments there, are also in fact thinking to have lost the only place of employment in these parts, where some hundreds of Khidmatgars were dismissed and employed annually; and a year's service in that Durbar was considered to render the man careless of employment throughout his lifetime. Even gandhis (the perfumers) are weeping for their trade, as they say that their commodities were purchased to the amount of above Rs.60,000 in that Durbar, which is to be reduced to nothing now. These are the remarks of some of the people of this place, who hoped to be benefitted by the entirely native rule. But the public of this place has not been a little excited by the associations and the Vernacular papers, which are too numerous and in fact even more loose of their tongue, and fearless than the English papers even. Besides the people in these parts are much in the habit of seeing them. The office of *Dnyan Prakash* a bi-weekly paper is opposite my place and they hang a paper on the door every time it is issued, and for 3 successive days, I see people by 4s and 5s standing there to read them the whole day. These *Sabhas* and the Vernacular papers certainly have much influence on the hearts of the public here.

With best Salams.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,
K. N. SUKUL.

[50]

Poona, 26th June, 1875.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

I AM in receipt of your most esteemed favor of the 21st instant and beg to tender my sincerest thanks for the same. In yours you had very kindly said that you would write tomorrow, whereas

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I have received no letter from you for three days successively, and under the general suspicion that I am held here, I am also very suspicious of them, as there is nothing that they would not do to satisfy themselves as to my real circumstances.

A few days ago, one of my friends happening to meet the Editor of one of the papers containing a notice about us, asked him how could he believe that we were spies? To which he replied that they had received a Telegram saying so. Whereupon I tried to find out the reality of what he said and in case of truth, who it was that telegraphed? and what did he telegraph. I ultimately succeeded in finding out that the Secretary to the Brahmo Samaj at Calcut a has telegraphed to Madho Rao Govind Ranade, the Principal Sudder Ameen of Poona, who is the Head Brahmo in this Presidency, that the Government of India has sent to Poona and the Deccan a Bengalee Baboo and a Jew as spies to report on the object of the various associations and founded by the natives here. This telegram has mostly confirmed them in their suspicion, which was first excited by the Government of India seal enveloped letters and our making many friends and mixing in all societies. They first got it noticed in a couple of local Vernacular papers, from which many other papers of the presidency copied. Lately an article appeared in the *Poona Observer*, which attracted the notice of the Governor who asked the Superintendent of Police of the District to find out the truth of the matter, and this morning I received a letter from him, wanting to see me and the other youngmen with me at the Inspector's office here. On my going there and waiting for a quarter of an hour there this officer arrived and very civilly asked me a number of questions as to my nativity, employment and cause of coming down here, to which all I properly replied. On my telling him that I came from Benares, he asked me if I had not come down from Simla, and I told him, that Yes, I came down to Benares from Simla and finding it very hot there I had become unwell there, and having had a mind since a long time to see Poona, and hearing at the same time that it was cooler down here, I at once made up mind and came here. Then he asked me from whom had I been I receiving letters from Simla? To which I replied I had several friends there and I also received letter from Hamilton Co. and Cook and Kelvey. Then he asked if I was

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known to Lord Northbrook or Mr. Aitcheson. And I replied in the negative. On which he asked me, to whom were those letters from bearing Government of India's seal. Then I told your name and said that I had received only a few such letters and that when there you had proposed to read some Persian books with me as well as given a vernacular Report of administration in Cashmir to translate and it was pertaining to these subjects that you had communicated with me. Hereupon he asked my name and I handed over copies of my testimonials to him, and seeing Sir Charles Wingfield's certificate, he said that he was very nearly related to him and said that his father's sister was the wife of Sir Cs' eldest brother. In the end he said that "I acquit you of the charge brought against you" and I thanked him and came away. I intend however seeing him on Monday next at his bungalow to ask him to refute those notices contained in the papers publicly if possible.

In all probability we have fully satisfied him about ourselves. We had much talk with him and I cannot write all that in this note. So much I have written with a view to give you to understand that we have no way betrayed ourselves. The mention of your name was also made in such a way and such a place that it did not give rise to the least suspicion in his mind that it was ever your wish to have procured through us the least information or that I had ever written any thing to you on this subject. I had also asked him that the present police management was there anything that they won't be able to discover and inform Government thereof. To which he replied (smiling) that perhaps Government did not trust them. He also said that he never saw nor heard of Government ever employing any natives as spies in preference to their police, excepting against these their most determined foes the natives of Poona. He also asked his Inspector what led these Poona people to suspect these poor travellers, against whom they have been writing these articles. To which he answered that it is their own guilty conscience and characteristic wickedness that never gives them ease.

If asked about us you know very well what to say.

It was the troops themselves that got the Sholapur man arrested, but he did not say anything about us and has lately been released of which I have informed you already.

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I would have immediately left Poona, as your advice is, but I am only waiting to know S. R's. last reply now, as well as what B. R. D. has gone to effect.

Ever since these men began to suspect me, they have stopped the meetings &c. of the *Sk. Sabha* entirely, and so much the better, for had they been assembling they would have still been spreading something disloyal, which was very bad at this time.

The chief cause of their suspecting us has been the discovery of our having seen their secret papers, for which they are very sorry and they fear the result of the idea thereof being conveyed to Government. They will in all probability destroy those papers or remove them to some other more secure place hereafter.

With best Respects,

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,
K. N. SUKUL.

[51]

Poona, 29th June, 1875.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

WITH many many thanks I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your kindest favor of the 22nd Instant covering 2 Hundred Rs. currency notes for which accept my sincerest thanks, as without them it would have been very difficult for me to start from this place, having spent all I had with me by this time. In this letter I have received, as requested by me, your permission to start from Poona at once. As per your letter of the 18th Instant I had made up my mind to stop some days further, first as desired in your's of the 18th and secondly, as I waited for S. R.'s second reply to B. R. D.'s letter, who has gone over to St. *via*, Bombay; as also to know the result of this man's trip, which it would be quite impossible to know, from any other place. He had not yet returned, as he had, when going, promised to do so by yesterday evening, but is expected by every coming train, and as soon

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as he arrived, I shall try to know every thing and let you know the same by that very day's post.

Ever since these people began to suspect me they have given over all their meetings etc. for fear of our communicating the discussion etc. to the Government of India somehow or other. The people of Poona have become quite speechless, I mean the lecturing community. This has also been from one point of the view for the better. It is nothing else than their public discussion, lectures and harangues that have so much excited the minds of the people, and their mouths having been stopped, these men, if they (the lecturers, etc.) continue so far some time, will gradually become more peaceful.

The Ryots' agrarian disturbances are still on the increase and these very good men are at the bottom of it. Government should at once take stringent measures to repress them, otherwise the consequences would not be good. When the minds of one portion are excited in a different strain, while influential men are trying to mislead the troops in another quarter, this mock disturbance, though most insignificant in nature, when of daily occurrence, will by slow degrees most imperceptibly continue giving a strictly secret impetus to all these three to enable them under some excusable pretence, to throw aside the hitherto unremovable veil which willingly or unwillingly all along kept them bounden to their duties to Government, the whole machine may not one day upset, and then it would not be so easy to put it to rights without a proportionate loss.

There is to be a lecture again at the Hindu Club tonight. The subject is "The causes of adversity in India, and the remedies thereof." I shall inform you at full in my next letter to you. On receiving my telegram from this place, informing you of the day of my departure hence, please write me a note to wait at the Bombay General Post Office till called for.

With best Salams.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,
K. N. SUKUL.

Excuse bad writing, etc. as it has been written after midnight when I was hard-pressed with sleep.

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[52]

Poona, 30th June, 1875.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

As intimated in my note of yesterday, a lecture was last night delivered in the Hindu Club by Naro Vinayak Date on "The State of Agriculture and Commerce in India, and the means of improving them." This lecture was delivered in the Marathi language, and although I wasn't present at it, but had sent only an unknown friend of mine, still, there was no haranguing &c, nor the least trace of their former seditious language. All was proper and as it ought to be. Before commencing, the Lecturer was told by the President of the club, that "the language of the lecture should be modelled according to the requirements of the times"; "That the age of free-thinking is now nearly over with us."

There have however been 2 very private meetings of a number of select members of the *Sarvajanik Sabha,* wherein have been considered the subjects of the appeals which Malhar Rao and S. R. are both to institute in the English Parliament, as well as the petitions of Malhsabai, Lakshmibai (M. R.'s wives) and Kamabai (M. R.'s daughter), to H. E. the Viceroy requesting his permission to give back their jewels &c from the State Treasury. It was ultimately considered expedient to appoint Sergeant Ballantine to carry on the appeal in England, with the assistance of Jefferson and Payne, Messrs. Shantaram Narayan are to remain private advisers in the matter. The expenses &c of the appeal are to be privately paid by M. R.'s Agents, but to keep up a show of his (M. R.'s) possessing no pecuniary resources, his agents are in the first place to petition the Secretary of State to allow their client to have further sums from the Baroda Treasury, and secondly the *Sabha* is to despatch their private emissaries to the various native Durbars to solicit their private and dutiful aid in affording a brother chief opportunity to receive justice at the hands of a higher tribunal, where a great number of most influential men

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all advise this course and are ready to assist the unfortunate Prince, who has been so unjustly treated owing to a previous private grudge that Lord Northbrook had taken against him, ever since this prince had refused to attend his Durbar in Bombay, and that threats of utter destruction were at that very time conveyed to him which have now been realized. These native Princes and Chiefs have also been assured that their this timely and brotherly assistance would be maintained as a perfect secrecy and that this money is to be made over to the agents of M. R. not as if coming from yourselves, but as that from the private subscription from the public at large. Now think, kindest Sir that the Chiefs when thus addressed would surely never fail to give something according to their abilities, whereas the law expenses are to be defrayed out of M. R.'s own private money. The chief assisting shall only have a mental satisfaction of having assisted a Brother chief in distress, the public would have the benefit of a good name, and the disadvantage of the displeasure of Government while the money would in reality fill the coffers of these select members of the *Sarvajanik Sabha,* who are from the very commencement risking so much not only for the sake of Malhar Rao, and the public, but for some profit of a pecuniary nature too, which would no doubt be worth having? This is native character! In no case, absolutely honest! These meetings have been convened in a most secret manner, as they took place at G. V. Joshi's own house, at a quarter after mid-night, but thanks to his own man who showed us the private papers that I could learn these propositions. They are really useful and might perhaps lead to some other discoveries.

B. R. D. has this afternoon returned from his trip to Surat. He first went to Bombay, and there saw S. R. What they both conversed about, and what did the former do at St. have not yet come to light, but I hope to be able to know everything by tomorrow, and then I shan't fail to inform you of the same.

Some people have spread a most unfounded rumour here. Although quite false, I beg to inform you thereof, as something can be made out of it. Hitherto all vernacular papers have been alternately publishing in one day's issue that Sir T. Madhav Rao and Sir R. Meade don't agree with one another, while in the next they say that there is no truth in what they had published

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on this subject the day before. The day before yesterday the whole city resounded with the following rumour, that both the above named Officers have openly contradicted each other and the result was that Sir T. M. R. has forwarded his resignation of the Dewanship to H. E. the Viceroy and that Sir R. M. has even recommended the same to be accepted. That in a few days Sir T. M. R. is expected in Poona, where he has written to his friend G. V. J. who is to make room for his putting up &c. during his few days' stay here, in his own house, as this Officer always puts up at his friends' house here only.

Rajah Sir Dinkur Rao Bahadur about whose arrival here I had written to you in a previous letter together with my own poor opinion in that respect. A few days after his arrival, he went to Akalkote, the capital of a chieftaincy in this Presidency, where a very famous Fakir lives, and what is most astonishing to the people of Poona is to find him returning from thence in a great hurry and by the same day's train leaving at once for Agra yesterday. Who knows what urgency demands his presence there and deprives these people of the wise advices of so prudent a man in times of such need. I am informed that this great man was most secretly present at the first private meeting of the select members of the *Sk. Sabha.*

The suspicion of the people about me here is on the decrease now. The *Indu Prakash* of the 28th has a news letter on the subject giving my name &c and saying that that the people now begin to think us detectives has no ground to be based upon, and that we only came to see the city is more likely.

With best Salams,

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

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[53]

Poona, 2nd and 3rd July, 1875.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

IN my yesterday's letter I had informed you of arrival back of B. R. D. and today, having been informed of their undertakings I beg herewith most respectfully to inform you of the same. This man first went to meet S. R. at Bombay and did all he could to make him accompany him to Surat. But this celebrity did not agree to his proposals but remained inexorable in his first purpose of never doing anything as long as his as well as M. R.'s appeals are not finally decided. This man remained there for 2 days and tried all he could to seduce him to accompany him once to Surat but he paid no attention to his remonstrances. Then he went to Surat, where Govind Rao Mama, Anund Rao Killedar's son, Baroda M. R.'s son-in-law's younger brother Anund Rao and a couple of pensioned Subedars of Poona met together and first lamented the loss of S. R., who would have made a capital leader, had he not fallen back so shamefully. According to the accounts of their emissaries everything was ready to strike a blow, but for want of but one man's boldness, all their so long concerted measures are on the brink of failing. Had they been able to know this man's character from beforehand, they would never have been his dupes for so long a time.

After this they all swore fidelity to one another, by placing their hands on a pot containing some Ganges water and Shalagram (black round stones found at the root of the Gunduk River and worshipped by the Hindus as if they had been the body of Vishnu). Then they determined upon finding another leader and thoughts alighted on one Nana Saheb Mane, Ranee Jumnabai's younger brother who is presently living at Poona, and is believed to have brought away the state jewels of which his sister had been sometime back charged. This man too, I am sure, from his public character and deportment, is never to accept their proposal.

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On the second day of their stay at Surat, they met five or six of the leading men from the Troops there, who were brought over by the Poona pensioners in their Company and B. R. D. related to them the cause of their present failure, as well as the next leader they have fixed upon naming. Those men at that time explained to them the difficulty of keeping the minds of so many men bent upon such a subject for so long a time, and requested to be freed from their responsibility. But when would these fellows allow them to get off. Fresh Rs.9,000 are advanced to them in sovereigns to be distributed where necessary as a further pledge of sincerity on their part, and those who received the same, took oaths anew to remain true to their cause at any risk whatever. Thereupon the assembly dissolved, Govind Rao Mama returned to Bharoach, and B. R. D. came back here. He however, looks much dejected and has more the appearance of one who has lost something most invaluable.

Thus ended this last mission to S. R. to compel him to become the leader of a rebellion, which these rascals had most wickedly planned and confidentially hoped for from the troops, who have in my humble opinion, only been trying to dupe them, and thus get out of them, as much money as they could and had never had even the least idea of mutinying at the bottom of their heart. All has been a regular cheating and deception only.

3rd July, 1875.

A new Club was about to be started in Baitalpeth here, but owing to our being here the idea has been given up for the present. The city of Poona is divided into 19 great divisions called peths, which are again sub-divided into a great number lanes and bye-lanes called *Alis,* and every *Ali* is going to establish a Club of its own to be called the *Ali Clubs,* after the name of the *Ali* to which it belongs. About 20 such *Ali Clubs* have already been established and they are all branches of the *Sarvajanik Sabha.* Every member of these clubs has to pay a fixed subscription (of from annas 4 to a Rupee monthly), to be deposited as the public fund, whereby the whole city shall after a time have a very large sum of money at its command to be expended in pleasure parties to take place once or

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twice a year, to assist one or more members to travel in India or Europe for purpose of adding by his or their experience to the bettering of our country in general, publishing any work of public utility or in conducting or defending any law suit instituted by or against any one or more of the members, in assisting any respectable family in distress and in other like good acts. These Clubs do and are intended to discuss Union of the whole country in all useful purposes, and the duty of their refraining from using articles of foreign manufacture, whereby they say they can only be now able to increase the wealth of their country. Everyone intending to become a member of one of the clubs is in the first place required to take most irrevocable oath of never using himself nor letting his family use anything of foreign manufacture whatever. What do you think of these branch *Sabhas,* similar ones are already or are being established in all villages of any note, where there are even a dozen men knowing Marathi, which almost everyone knows here. They are in a short time calculated to spread over the whole country, as a vast network will ultimately vastly strengthen the *Sk. Sabha.*

Here is another proof of Krishna Shastri Chiploonkar's partiality to the Native Vernacular Editors here. The Editorial article in today's *Prabhat Patrika*, a daily Marathi paper of Poona, is quite disloyal and seditious, and still no notice seems to have been taken thereof! The article is an abominable one and nothing can be more blameable, and our Government Reporter on Native Press has taken no notice of it, it seems, or if he has, he hasn't made proper representations regarding it. It is never advisable to allow such freedom, as being a one pice paper, who are the readers of it? The 'Millions'. It is the minds that have been first disaffected by the late "Baroda injustice" as it is called in these parts; secondly it is they who are dissatisfied with the late settlement, the result whereof are the prevalent agrarian riots, and lastly being punished for their outrages without the least means being taken by Government to remedy their grievances they are ever on their tiptoe to be immediately excited and affected by the most insignificant cause of excitement whatever. In this article in today's paper is surely calculated to at once explode their minds.

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The article extends over 2 columns to give you a concise view thereof the following is the purport. Since some years Government is trying to crush us. They have it in view by degrees to annex all the petty principalities, in a most imperceptible manner. That Government thinks us even worse than dogs and knows that we can do nothing, but this idea is a great mistake. Even the most insignificant beasts when hard pressed for life would make one last effort and destroy their oppressor! We are after all men and reasonable beings and when once irritated beyond endurance would easily accomplish a thing. The former annexation and meddlings had some . . . . of cause in them. The present Baroda affair has now openly laid down their present behaviour and the future we now expect at their hands. They now heartily wish to extirpate our race from the country, and our country men must now take the hint and must either vacate the country at once or strike conjointly one last blow and bring their nation back to their first position . . . . clocks all over are loudly proclaiming that the time is . . . . . we need not delay and have not a single moment to . . . . . think of this and do what is proper now.

With Salams and etc.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

[54]

Poona, 5th July, 1875.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

I HAVE heard from some very reliable source that during the sittings of the last Commission at Baroda, Maharaja Holkar of Indore had after his return from Calcutta, come in disguise to Baroda, and had there privately seen Scindhia, Jeypore and Sir Dinkur Rao, and it was he that influenced their decision. I cannot believe this, but am most assuredly told that it was so. You

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can easily find out the truth of this, by writing to the Resident at Indore, and enquiring by what date, was it that he returned there, and whether he again left it for some time or not ? I am rather of opinion that some men of his had been there and did convey the message to the above named Chiefs, and in all probability G. V. Joshi, went there for this very purpose and from him on that occasion. This man had at that time, you would remember to have seen in the papers, proposed to have advanced a lac of Rupees on part of the *Sarvajanik Sabha* to the Solicitors of the Ex-Gaikwad to be paid to Sergeant Ballantine & Co. and the truth is that he had at that time received this sum from Holkar, which he was to have given on part of his *Sabha,* as if subscribed by the people, had the occasion required the same. It is out of this sum that he has spent a portion in building a temple, and in getting prayers to be said for M. R's success; and afterwards finishing it in a manner as if success had already attended his endeavor with dedicating Tulsi leaves to the number 1,000,000 at the shrine of Vishnu and feeding 2,000 Brahmins. He is now going to give credit to the first subscriber (Holkar) for this sum as his portion of the subscription and with this enviable sum at the head of the list he is sure to get a proportionate sum at least from other quarters too though few in number. He has made up his mind to apply only to the few leading princes throughout the land. A man can never be at once rich if he is strictly honest ? This insight into the machinations of the leading members of this *Sabha,* perfectly establishes the manner, in which some men having once acquired the name of being the representatives of a large and influential community can deceive others for their own good and profit under the screen of doing one's good even at the risk of good name and the good graces of the Supreme Government.

Yourself gave me some idea of the private character of Holkar, and the same has now been most undeniably proved now. His inward jealousy and inclination to injure his equals in a manner whereby he himself might be no way blamable for, and that failing to get a great name with no real trouble has led him to act with so much diplomatic deception in this affair. I am most sincerely assured by a party truly reliable that it was at his instigation that the three Native Commissioners in the late

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Baroda enquiry reported their opinion in favor of Malhar Rao. To do so they were even made to believe that during his late trip to Calcutta in his interview with the Viceroy, he had been able to perceive that it was the inmost desire of the Viceroy that the accused be somehow saved. And, his double purpose was this, that if M. R. is acquitted, he M. R. would no doubt be highly obliged to him for his intercession, and if otherwise, he would have the satisfaction of seeing Government displeased with the native Commissioners, whom he like all natives very much envied for the good graces of Government they were in. He was very jealous of Scindia and Jeypore, who though much inferior to him in politics (according to his own consideration) possessed much larger territories, and were at the same time the most favored ones of Government. He has now felt most indescribable satisfaction both in the mortification that the two above-named Chiefs have experienced by displeasing the Government of India with themselves; as well as for the ruin of M. R. whom he no less envied.

I beg herewith to forward an issue of today's *Dnyan Prakash* a first class Marathi paper of this City. It has a very scandalous article extending over two columns as its Editorial. It pertains to the intended visit of our future Emperor the Prince of Wales. Instead of feeling very proud and inexpressibly happy at this most unlooked for and least expected auspicious event you must have lately read in other papers how sadly and pitiably the people of this Presidency have (since they came to know this, to be about to prove a reality) been bewailing for the great pecuniary loss that they shall have to suffer on his arrival—All that I have hitherto heard or read on this subject has been nothing in comparison to this article. In this article they have nick-named England as Old Grandmother, whose sons have determined upon visiting India every alternate year and in every visit carrying off as much money and valuables as practicable from this country. I cannot express how very impertinently the whole article is worded. How very peevishly it speaks of the procession that is to be formed at Delhi where the prince will mount on an *Ambari,* newly being made. How much it deplores the unnecessary construction of the state *Ambari* and it represents the Prince as a doll seated in the *Ambari.* It says, that Government wants to show its power and the grandeur of English

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princes. It's power we have seen in the late Baroda trial, that how it crushes a harmless inferior with a mockery of justice, and we perfectly know the grandeur of its princes, who can not do anything even when on their throne. They may draw their fixed stipends and if they want a further penny beyond that they have to beg most earnestly their Parliament for it who may grant it or not. This is a thousandth part of what the paper contained.

I leave the day after tomorrow. The line is broken for 20 miles this side of Jubbulpur and shall wait a few days at Bombay where I hope to get a letter from you with some remittance if practicable and further instructions.

With Salams.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,
K. N. SUKUL.

[55]

Copy of Telegram No. 103 dated Simla 7th July, 1875, from Major Bradford. Addressed to Kailas Nath Sukul, Keshao Nathu Dharamsala, Shookrawarpeth, Poona.

You had better leave Poona at once. Telegraph where letter will find.

[56]

Simla, 8th July, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

I RECEIVED your Telegram dated this morning and hope that by the time you are in Bombay and that those who suspect you will not trouble themselves with you any further. It is most unfortunate they should have got hold of your having been to

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Simla and that their suspicions should have been aroused but it cannot be helped now. I think it will be better you should not remain even in Bombay after you receive this but that you should come up to Benares and there remain quietly for a time, doing any little work you can for me. I shall send this to Bombay directed to an agent to be posted at the post office so that it may not have the Simla post mark on it. I shall enclose in it two more notes to assist you on our journey. I shall not write again to Bombay because I think after what has passed it is better you should be at Benares. Even there I shall ask you to post your letters to somebody elsewhere so that it can be forwarded and I shall do the same after one or two letters. Your information has been very valuable and I thank you for it.

Your letter dated 30th reached me this morning and I was glad to hear that the suspicions of you were dying out. Let me know what day you will be at Benares and how I am to address. It will be easy for you to start on your travels again after a little rest at home. Of course you will be very cautious in communicating with Poona, but still I have no doubt that you have arranged correspondents. I shall write at length when you reach Benares..

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
E. R. C. BRADFORD.

[57]

Bombay, Byculla—Battleewala's
Dhurumsala, 9th July, 1875,

To

E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY DEPARTMENT
TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

IN the evening of the 7th instant I was favored with a telegram ordering me to leave Poona atonce but I had already intended doing so the same day, as has been intimated to you in

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mine of the 5th Current. Agreeably to that I left Poona by yesterday's mail train and reached Bombay by mid-day. Having stopped at Battleewala's Dhurumsala for the night, I have this morning removed to another house adjoining the same buildings, so that letters bearing the above address shall reach me. I see no use waiting so long as to get reply to this, unless something most important obliges me to do it.

I would have left Poona long before this, had I not been obliged to wait so long to be able to know the whole correspondence going on between Bulwant Rao Dev, Malhar Rao's Agent and Sadashiv Rao of Baroda, which thank God ended so well. Bulwant Rao's plan has quite failed in this instant, but they are now trying to get another party over. I mean the younger brother of Ranee Jumnabai Saheb, but I entertain firm hopes that their representatives would have no better success in this quarter as well.

A famous native Chief had provoked the authorities by taking up arms against Government during the mutiny of 1857, in punishment whereof he was imprisoned for life and had since that very time been trying some how to escape from the prison. Of late his efforts succeeded and he got off not only unperceived but unsuspected also. The affair was managed so cleverly that a little previously the prison surgeon was prevailed upon and under the use of some medicine, the Chief began to show symptoms of speedy dissolution. When the state of the Chief's health was all over known to daily becoming more and more precarious, he suddenly died one day, and after being examined by the same surgeon, was given over to be burnt or interred according to the custom of the country. In this manner some thing being substituted for the body on the burning pile the Chief very adroitly managed to slip away to some distant part of the country from whence, after some time, he has now reached Goa which is near his own territory. Here he has about 20 very brave friends about him, and his daily wants are administered to by subscriptions raised among his past subjects, or by robbing some rich bankers.

A good deal of Malhar Rao's private money is with the Gaekwad's Agent at Poona, who is a native of a town called Sangamner, in Zillah Ahmednagar, about 40 miles. N. E. of Poona, and is reckoned the wealthiest man in the Presidency although,

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he was not on good terms with Malhar Rao during his prosperity. This man also pitied him very much after his arrest, as is generally the custom that the bitterest of enemies turned best friends in adversity, as thereby their pity is excited when they see that all chance of being revenged is over now. Malhar Rao's agents have deposited their money (M. R.'s money with them at the time of his arrest) with this man as no body would even suspect him of the same.

Poona is the most dangerous place throughout India. The people are the most determined enemies of Government and would risk anything to injure it if at all practicable from their vocal powers. Although downright cowards themselves, their tongues are very sharp and pointed in expressions of a most scandalous and abusive nature. These men have founded nearly 25 other societies besides the *Sarvajanik Sabha* all which are always crying in loud terms against the tyranny and oppression of Government. This is a place where always some new information is to be got, and I have much pleasure to inform you that I have found a proper man, who is quite the reverse of these people, and ready to do anything for his master. He dislikes his own people for their faults, and is consequently himself disliked by all. During the next fortnight he is to remain at Poona to report on any new measures that the Poonakur's take or any scandalous lecture etc. that they will deliver in their different clubs etc. on knowing that we have left the city as our presence had latterly put a stop to all these endeavors during or about this time I hope to leave these parts altogether and then he has promised to go over to Sangamner itself to find, if possible any clue to that vast sum of money which the Baroda Treasury has been deprived of. He also promised to go to Goa in search of the Chief who inhabits that place, and if B. R. D. etc. at all know of this man they will immediately gather round him. I hope not to hear in reply to this as it would be a very long time before it reaches me.

With best Salams.

Believe me.

Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
I shall remain,
Your ever obedient servant,
K. N. SUKUL.

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[58]

Copy of telegram No. 2498 dated Simla 12th July, 1875. from Major Bradford. Addressed to Kailas Nath Sukul, Battleewala's Dharamsi (sic a) la, Poona.

Letter Bombay post office despatched eighth.

[59]

Bombay, 14th July, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,

INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THUGGY AND DACOITY

DEPARTMENT, TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

WITH innumerable thanks I beg herewith to acknowledge the receipt of your kindest favor of the 8th Instant, which reached me yesterday on the 13th and in reply I have to inform you that I shall act accordingly. I shall despatch my baggage tomorrow in the charge of one of my men, and shall myself leave the day after, and shall in all probability be at Benares by Sunday the 18th. The reason of sending a man in advance, and thus delaying my own departure, by one day is only this—that the journey being a very long one and there being no great hurry about my going, this man would alight as some midway station and there make arrangements for my cooking etc., so that I shall by this means have an opportunity of getting a good meal by the way; otherwise I would have to subsist on milk, fruits etc. alone.

Herein enclosed I send you the first letter from my Poona correspondent. It will give you a good idea of what sort of a

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man he is. He knows English and is a poor man of a quite different turn of mind from his Poona brethren. He loves Government, and has always borne the nick-name of *'Sarkarya'* (i.e. of Government). He first held the post of an Assistant Teacher in the City School of Poona, where he used to fight with his superior officer in defending Government against his attacks which irritated the headmaster who was a Maratha Brahmin, that he was obliged to resign his post three months ago under pain of being dismissed. Having known all this I made him my friend. But notwithstanding he remained greatest part of the day with me, I never gave him the least cause of suspicion up to the date of my departure. So that he always quarrelled with those that suspected me telling that he always remained with us and had never the least cause to suspect, but was never believed, and was rather hated and avoided by his own people as one our agents for procuring information. He was in a very great distress, having stood security for a friend for some amount, and the friend having died this man was sued and decreed against but not being able to pay was being led to prison, when I first saw him and felt such compassion for him that I was foolish to pay his debt and thus got him released. Ever since this man's gratitude knew no bounds and he has been running like a most menial servant, he was insisting to be allowed to accompany us but I stopped him and having made him swear I told him what I wanted him to do for me, and had also promised to pay him for his services. He was really very glad to be of some use to me. Then I told him some of the Head men about whom he is to supply me some information that he could get, and the enclosed is his first letter.

I have not yet written to you about Dayanand Saraswati, a Fakir, who professes to be a Vedic Unitarian and has for some time been preaching his doctrines in Bombay, where he has also established a Samaj of his own called the *Arya Samaj*. This is also like the *Brahmo Samaj*, with a little material difference. All these new doctrines inculcate Union in Religion, which in these parts means Union against British Government. This *Fakir* has been called over from Bombay to Poona by G. V. Joshi and Madho Rao Govind Ranade, the Principal *Sadder Ameen* of Poona, an officer, the greatest enemy of Government

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and a great promoter of disaffection against Government. These men paid and are still paying his expenses etc.

(K. N. SUKUL: unsigned).

In the enclosed letter B. D. & B. stand for Bulwant Rao Deo, G for Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi and Pr. for Punderpore.

[60]

Poona, 11th July, 1875.

MY DEAR SIR,

MANY thanks for your kind favour of the 9th instant. It came to my notice today only as my people unknowingly kept it by themselves yesterday night and this whole day. Hence this delay for which I beg to be excused.

I must, if I value and regard your friendship fight hard with your antagonists, to shield you from every oppression and wrong. Whoever that comes in my way interrogated with me as regards your whereabouts and to each and all I have given to understand that you went on pilgrimage to——————————. But it appears to me that they disbelieve me.—————— they donot seem to suppose that I have any knowledge of your destination. Well this is a satisfaction to me I hope they will soon take me into their confidence. Every one appears pleased since the restraint has been removed and I think they will soon commence to give vent to their tricks. Our G. along with his co-partners has been engaged in causing various kinds of frictions in the Poona community. He and his colleagues are at variance and the cause thereto is the lectures of the *Dayanand Swamee*. To each of such lectures I get a ticket of admission. This ticket system they have lately introduced in order to have some limited number. One thing in these that have attracted my attention is the reception of your B. D. I do not know what worthy qualifications does this personage possess so as to create so much veneration in the minds of our people. He attends every gathering and is shown to the public prominently. I came to know him

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on my enquiring with one who stood by in the lecture Hall the next day you left this. Such an hospitality is unkown here especially to the guest of the B's description. But he is parading through the streets and the reformists show him marked respect. No prophet is necessary to trace and find the cause. B will be entertained tomorrow by Krishna Rao the Vakeel in the evening and after a day or two there will be a trip to Samgamner. So much for B. G. instructed the mendicant to impress the audience with the belief that there is nothing like Union that will suit our country well and he the mendicant has had the audacity of giving full scope to his patriotism. He said "if you want your Kingdom back, do this and avoid that, taking care———— not to make his harangues seditious.

Very likely there will be *"Arya Sammaj"* established soon as also discourse among the people. I wish to be a subscriber to the native Library here and thus to cultivate good understanding and friendship between myself and the people at large. But what of empty pocket ? Since your departure I have not got a single paper to read. If I like to express my inability, I must do so very calmly. Tatya Saheb's papers did not come to my—— ———— was promised 30 Rs. reward and as he is not paid accordingly he withholds. This may perhaps prove my guess. If he still objects to give me I shall do something to get them. I am glad that you all reached safe and sound. Kindly remember me to my *Bhaya* and my dear friend Jugunnath with compliments as also our Ramdeen and Sooba. Have you done anything for me ? Let distance between us not allow to forget your extremly harassed friend. I shall be expecting every movement happy news from you and until you do something towards bettering my condition I shall be greatly unhappy. I await your reply.

Believe me,

Sincerely yours;

ANUND RAO (?)

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[61]

Simla 19*th July*, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE just received your Telegram announcing your arrival at Benares and yesterday's post brought me your letter of the 14th with it's enclosures. Thank you for it. I think it will be perhaps as well if your friend in Poona writes to you in Hindi, will it or not, or do you think English the best.

I will ask you now whilst you are at home where I think you had better stay for sometime to put your Poona friends entirely off the scent to write to me every thing you can hear from any quarter. If you will let me know what you would wish to send to Poona in the way of money I will send it——you as I can. Anything special I want you to do for me I will write. I will in a few days send you a remittance.

Can you get me a copy of the *Prabhat Patrika* of the 2nd July the one in which you mentioned an article appeared which would interest me. If you can, make them send it to you and then kindly send it on to me with a translation. I should also be very glad if you could let me have a free translation of that article in the *Dnyan Prakash* of the 5th July on the Prince's expenses, the purport of which you sent me. I have the copy of the paper and if you cannot get another copy of it I will send it you. The *Prabhat Patrika* I have not got——. There is a good deal of cholera here just now; it is certainly a place to be avoided for the present.

I am very much obliged to you for your letters. They have been very interesting. I will write again in a few days, if not earlier.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

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[62]

Simla 21st July, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

I have only time to write one line today. Can you tell me anything you may have heard of a society that exists I believe at Satara in the Deccan.

The cholera is still bad, but it has been raining heavily and I hope will soon cease. In haste.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

[63]

Benares, Rattan Phatuk, undated
(Probably of 21st July, 1875)

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THE THUGGY AND
DACOITY DEPARTMENT,
TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

I AM once more in Benares, and have written this letter to you on the 4th day after my arrival here, as so long I was quite unable to read and write owing to an inflammation of my left eye, which caused me greatest pain, as I had never had an attack of Ophthalmia all my life time, and this being the first, distressed me much. I am however better now and in a fair way of recovery.

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On receiving your kindest favor of the 8th Instt., I made up my mind to leave Bombay and the very next day I despatched my things by the cooly train with one of my men and there being an interruption in the way that side of Jubbulpur, they could not be booked further than Bhosawal, so that when the next day's mail train in which I was arrived at Bhosawal I had the mortification to know that I shall have to manage the conveyance of my luggage for 20 miles by any means possible beyond the Nursingpur station, and I was obliged to leave one of my men Incharge thereof at Nursingpur with some money and proper instructions to act in my absence, and having arrived here on Sunday the 18th, the luggage having taken 2 days in being carried over 20 miles has just now reached me.

As per instructions contained in your above mentioned letter I have reached Benares, and may I herewith beg to be informed of what "little piece of work" you wanted me to do for you in this place, as well as that you wished me to do before my joining you at Simla, for which I am so long most impatiently longing as it is a very long time since I have not seen your feet, and your unparallelled kindnesses ever fill my mind with the greatest desire of ever remaining before you, and thus always have the most indescribable satisfaction of seeing your feet. I have however much real satisfaction of being even at this distance busy in serving you.

I have since my return to Benares received no letter from my Poona correspondents, but as soon as I received one I shall not fail to write to you about the same.

Since my return here, a great number of influential Deccanis (some such, as had no acquaintance with me even) have been coming to me to ask what is the state of affairs in Deccan, ever since the deposition of Malhar Rao, and that what are the general feelings of the Deccanis about this affair, how did the people take it and with a view to sound their feelings, I told them that the whole population has taken it very ill, whereupon they all seemed much satisfied, with the news, and seemed to think very ill of Government. This shows just what you told me sometime back, that the Marathas all and every where are ill-wishers of Government and are never to be believed (I mean trusted)

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With best Salams. My respects to Mrs. Bradford.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,
KAILAS NATH SUKUL,

[64]

Simla 23rd July, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

I THINK for a few days it will be better for me to send letters through somebody else to you. This short line is to tell you so. You will know whether any precaution is necessary about addressing letters to me from Benares.

The cholera still hangs about and the worst day throughout was a few days ago. I shall be glad to hear from anything you may pick up about your old home.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
E. R. C. BRADFORD.

[65]

Benares, Rattan Phatuk the 24th July, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THUGGY AND DACOITY
DEPARTMENT, TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

With thousands of thanks I beg to acknowledge receipt of your most esteemed favor of the 19th Instt., desiring me to

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stay at home for some time, which would no doubt serve a good deal to put my Poona friends entirely off my scent. As for my Poona correspondent's writing me in Hindi I shall ask him to do so, but I think no harm in his using English instead thereof. Your liking him rather use Hindi in writing his letters makes me think you fear he wont be able so well to express himself in English as in his own mother tongue. I shall however write to him on the subject and let you know what he thinks about it.

I beg herewith to send you enclosed another letter from the same man, and the enclosed invitation note (therein mentioned) is sent under cover of another copy of the *Prabhat Patrika* of the 3rd July of which I had purchased a duplicate copy, and beg also to send a translation of the editorial as per your order contained in your favor, herewith enclosed, which I hope would meet your kindest approval.

As for the translation of the article in the *Dnyan Prakash* I had taken a duplicate thereof as well, but not having succeeded in finding it just now, I defer it till I find it, I have written to Poona also for a copy of the same. Any how I shall not fail to send that translation too in a few days. Although, I had not till a few days before my leaving Bombay spent any sum, out of the sums you from time to time sent me, in my own private expenses; but on receiving another 2 notes, I spent nearly the whole of the former sum you remitted to me in the last letter that I received from you in Poona, in making some purchases etc. in that splendid city and my trip back cost me more than 220 Rs. The greatest deal of trouble was experienced by me at the place where the line was washed away.

In my first letter I had informed you of the inflammation of the left eye that had troubled me at the time, but, however I have much pleasure to say that I am cured of it now. Ever since, I am now troubled with spasms of the stomach, and it is in the greatest pain that I have translated this article and wrote this letter.

I have some how managed to send my Poona correspondent One Hundred Rupees and feel it a duty to tender my warmest thanks for your intention of sending me a remittance in a few

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days as that would be very opportune here that I am amongst my family and friends, and also unwell.

With best compliments to yourself and Mrs. Bradford.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

Extracts from the Poona letter.

Parties concerned in the Sangamner affair proceeded this morning on their mission. One ought to follow them, and if a searching inquiry be instituted in the parties' proceedings triumph is sure to follow. Caution is of utmost need to get the desired effect, the nature of the business will scarcely allow you any mistake in your choice of a person. You cannot in fact entrust this delicate affairs to any one but your confidential. I find no one here, whom I could disclose my secret. From this it is evident that I should make a trip to the place at any rate. Please let me know how I should proceed.

"Scarcely a city you will find in India, that will manifest its discontent so openly as this city does. Ask an urchin how he likes the British rule ? and his answer will be that, he is sick of it. Happy is this ! that their chief power consists in words. But, you may rest assured that unrestrained indulgence on the part of the rulers, shown to the people will involve this country one day, into difficulties. Yesterday evening at a lecture in G. V. Joshi's Temple, delivered by one of our Shastris I saw the audience and lecturer lost in patriotism, and they forgot at the same time that they have some one to dread. Their clamour for their own rule, was so loud that G. himself, when awakened from his slumber checked the wild talk of the people assembled and the Lecturer. I am happy to inform you that they don't suspect me as your agent, though some of them now and then enquire about your whereabouts. Yesterday afternoon I spent in the Pension Pay Office. I have got the names of the non-commissioned Officers, such as Subedars and Jamadars some of my

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old acquaintances are still living. I shall go to see these men as often as possible. I tell you nothing but truth that I shall dive very deep in the hearts of the people but I want to remove my anxieties altogether for the good of my family and I do not doubt for a moment that when you make up your mind to see your poor friend in a better position you will do it."

K. N. SUKUL.

[66]

Benares, Rattan Phatuk, 25th July, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THUGGY DEPARTMENT,
TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

TODAY I have received your very kind favor of the 21st Instt., and beg herewith most respectfully to tender my most heart felt thanks for the same. In reply I beg to inform you that as far as I know there are two principal, I mean noteworthy societies at Satara. One being a branch of the Poona *Sarvajanik Sabha,* and the others called *Young Men's Association.* The former was established by the influence of Krishna Rao Mahajane, late *Karinda* (the Headman) of the now pensioned Satara Raja, and is still being conducted by the same man, who having once been the Headman of the Raja of that place (who though possessed no power was in a manner adored by the people) has still much influence among the Satara as well as the surrounding country people. About the latter I only know this much that it has been lately founded, and its meetings are being held in the Library there.

There is one thing more that I know about the former, that I learned from the private papers of G. V. Joshi. It is this that latterly the Head Sabha at Poona had under the signatures of

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its select members written a private letter to this Krishna Rao desiring him to try to excite the *Ryots* of that district to rise and in the present state of disturbance, free themselves from the burden of the debt they owe to the Marwaris.

There is every hope of the present rates of assessment being ultimately, lowered by Government, if the present state of things continue all over the Presidency.

I have also asked my man about this. I am not yet quite well, but hope yourself and Mrs. Bradford are perfectly well.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

[67]

Simla, 27th July, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

I WAS glad to receive your letter from Benares. It has no date, but you mention having been at Kashee for 4 days. You must have had a very unpleasant journey from Bombay with the broken line of railway. If possible in this or in a letter to-morrow I shall hope to send you a remittance. We shall not be able to settle account until we meet. I think it will be wise for you to remain at home just for the present there is still a good deal of sickness up here and the change of climate from the plains to Simla seems always to affect people more or less.

In my last letter I asked you to send me a Translation of the Ver: article to which you had referred in your last letter from the Deccan and I daresay you will be able to do so some day. The enclosed little letter please look at it carefully and give me a translation of it—address on the envelope and everything, returning it please. I daresay you will have some idea who it is to and from. I see it has a Bombay post mark of the 23rd June

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on it, which was about the time when letters were being sent about:

Then there is another thing which I think might be useful to inquire into more for information than anything else, viz, the history, and all particulars connected with the "*Salāhs*" and resting places of pilgrims in all parts of India. I think so many Pilgrims visit Benares that probably you may have some good opportunities from inquiry of this sort. I should like a sort of tabular statement showing the roads on which they are, who frequent them as rule, I mean pilgrims passing from what place to what place and any other matters of interest. When you have had a good month's rest we will see whether it would be wise for you to have a little trip to Gwalior or elsewhere but———— the Calcutta people by what you say had got hold of your visit to the Deccan. I am sure it will be better to avoid any moving just now. Anything you can learn by correspondence you will communicate to me.

Take care of the little letter I send and if you can let me have it back by return post with any idea that may strike you about it. It is raining hard so I shall not be able to enclose notes today for I cannot get them. You will of course be careful not to let it be known you correspond with me.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

P. S—Tell me when acknowledging this whether the address I have put on this is the proper one and of course if any other will be better you will give it.

[68]

Simla, 29th July, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE to thank you for the letter which came in today, one dated 24th July, 1875 enclosing the letter from your Poona corres-

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pondent and the second quoting the translation of the article. Thank you for them. I am sorry your eye has become painful. but I hope it is quite well. I had hoped to be able to enclose a larger remittance than that now sent, but I can not get any larger notes than those enclosed. I will send some more in a day or two.

You will receive a long letter from me asking you to do various things for me, if you can. A time at which will do you a great deal of good. There is still sickness at Simla, but I hope it is improving. I shall not write more today as it is post time.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

[69]

Benares, Rattan Phatuk, 30th July, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THUGGY AND DACOITY
DEPARTMENT, TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

WITH innumerable thanks I beg to inform you that I am in receipt of your kindest favor of the 23rd Instt., wherein you have desired me to write to you anything that I may be able to pick up here. The whole city of Benares is presently occupied in considering how they are to adorn and light up their city on the occasion of the Prince's visit. This time they seem not to give preference to their old mode of illuminating the Ghauts and the streets, but are thinking of making some inventions and when once anything takes possession of the hearts of the natives of this place, they forget everything and you will always and everywhere find them talking of the same thing. Our Prince's visit

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engrosses their minds now-a-days, and I find them quite the reverse of the people of Deccan, whom I had everywhere found crying most woefully at the mere idea of their being obliged to pay the expenses of their royal guests visit to India. While on this side, I have immediately on my arrival here found the people, most sincerely happy and quite impatient ever since they have come to know as a fact, that their future sovereign has condescended to grace their land with his worshipful footsteps.

According to the religious notions of the Hindus, the "*darshan*" (sight) of a King is considered very auspicious, and no blessing on earth can equal it. Hence, all this impatience for His Royal Highness's safe and speedy arrival. After all this bewailing on part of the Deccanis, which seems general, as it was never contradicted in any paper, by anybody, it would have rather looked as a slight punishment for this improper conduct on their part, if His Royal Highness would not have deigned to accept any public entertainment etc. given by them on the occasion of his arrival at Bombay.

I beg herewith to enclose for your perusal a translation of the article on the Princes' Expenses, contained in the *Dnyan Prakash* of the 5th July, 1875 as per your order contained in your letter of the 19th Instt., and hope it will meet your approval.

The enlightened Hindus of Poona had towards my departure from thence, invited over from Bombay a Hindu Devotee, named Dayanand Saraswatee, to preach in Poona against the long established Doctrine of Idolatry. This devotee was first living for a long time at Benares, where too he had often been preaching against idolatry according to the tenets of the Vedas. The Maharaja of Benares had then at the request of this man assembled all the learned *pundits* of Benares to discuss with this devotee whether this Idolatry was allowed by the Vedas or not, and the *pundits* came off victorious in that discussion. Ever since, this devotee had left these parts and had been roaming all over the Southern India. For the last year and a half he had been residing and preaching at Bombay, where he has succeeded in securing a number of followers, and has also established an assembly which bears the name of *The Arya Samaj*. It was from Bombay that he was invited over to Poona by a gentleman

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named Madhav Rao Govind Ranade, the Principal *Suddar Ameen of Poona.* This officer is the Head of the "*Sudharieli Mandali*" (Reformed Hindus). During the last few days of my stay at Poona this *Swamee* (devotee) had delivered two lectures (at both of which I was present, and found nothing of interest to us) and has ever since been lecturing every alternate day at the *Hindu Club,* the Principal resort of the reformed Hindus. Madhav Rao Govind Ranade is the president of this club and Madhav Rao Moreshwar Kunte, Headmaster of the Poona High School, the chief Secretary. As the lectures of this devotee draw very great crowds of people of every caste, the Brahmins of the old school entertain great fears of losing the affections of a great many of the small number that still stick to their old habits and customs, and are consequently trying to establish opposing *Sabhas* at Poona, Satara, and other chief places as Nasik, Wai, Pandharpur and Sholapur, some of which have already been founded. It is their desire to challenge this devotee to open discussion, wherein all these Sabhas are to join and assist one another as much as they can. A similar Sabha assembled at Satara on the 18th Instt., in Lukshmee Narayan's Temple, an account whereof appeared in the *Dnyan Prakash* of the 26th and thinking that perhaps having heard something about this, you might have desired me to write all I knew about it (in your favor of the 21st July). I have given you a full account of the whole class of these Sabhas, and the cause of their being established, and not finding them to be at all politically important I have not given it's resolutions etc. as they are entirely religious.

It has been raining very heavily the whole of yesterday and the day previous, and hoping cholera, has abated there by this time.

With best Salaams,

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

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[70]

Simla, 31st July, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

YOU will I hope have recd. a letter posted on the 29th July in which was enclosed 2 notes of 100 Rs. each. I now beg to send you 2 more and hope they will reach you in safety I can only get 100 Rs. notes and more than 2 makes a letter too heavy. It is post time and I fear to miss the post, if I keep this now. I hope you are better. I am told that Krishna Rao, who you will remember was here when you left, has gone to Benares. You may see him.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

[71]

Benares, Rattan Phatuk, 1st August, 1875.

TO

MAJOR E.R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THUGGY DEPARTMENT,
TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

WITH innumerable thanks I beg herewith to inform you of the receipt of your kindest favor of the 27th Ultimo, and in reply beg to send you back the letter enclosed in yours, with its translation. It bears the signature of the Rebel Sirdar of the Bheels, and is addressed to the Raja of Punna. I have translated the address on the envelope, as well, and perhaps this has been the cause of its interception.

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It is a strange thing and shows that similar ones had been sent to other Rajas also, of which this one has been somehow discovered. I know that a set of letters had been addressed by the *Sarvajanik Sabha* to all the independent and semi-independent Rajas, advising them "to become of one mind, and join each other in all offensive and defensive measures that they might hereafter have to take against the British Government for the good of their country and the re-establishment of their already-lost and merely nominal liberty." The signature at the foot is a fictitious one, and the letter has in all probability been written by Bulwant Rao Deo himself or at his instigation, because the handwriting is a perfected hand and he is the only man at the bottom of every mischief. These letters have been written only with the intention turning the minds of the Rajas. Perhaps you might in this interim have received some more, and these all when seen might lead to some discovery.

Maharaja Scindhia of Gwalior is going to pay a visit to the Maharaja of Jeypore at his capital. This is the first time that such a conjuncture takes place, it has been brought about by Rajah Dinkur Rao. Ever since their report has met the disapproval of Government, these chiefs have been very silently ruminating upon the consequences of their foolishness and have tried their utmost to reingratiate themselves in the favorable notice of the Viceroy, but not finding anything of the sort, Dinkur Rao has at last advised them to strengthen their own Union and thus frighten Government. It is impossible to know anything correctly without once going to Gwalior, Jeypore and those parts, as without so doing it is impossible to find a good correspondent also, and on going to those parts, I have no fear of being suspected as I can easily say that I am in search of an appointment, to accept which rests with me, as it would not be at all difficult to ward it off by proposing very high pays.

The Poona people are the strangest and most disloyal. It is their own guilty consciences that always keep them most fearful and hence suspicious. The next time that I shall go there I would challenge them to suspect again. I have assured the people that I shall try to pass the summer months there every year and as soon as I go there next time, all their suspicions will vanish. They have already been rooted out wholly by my man

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there as he has now assured me, and I have also sent them some letters from some of their Benares friends, who have written to them as if on seeing the papers having asked me on my return whom they meant; and not at my request. Besides I have now observed every thing and got more experienced. I shall not stop in the city now, but in the civil lines, where I shall take some cheap merchandise as jewellery, etc. and that will be a pretext for my being there. I shall require 1000 to buy cheap Delhi jewellery, which I will sell wherever I go.

In this I shall in all probability make some profit, if not 5 or 10 p.c. loss will secure a ready market. I have determined upon passing as a jeweller everywhere; as I understand this trade tolerably, and it is not very cumbersome. With it I shall easily get an access everywhere.

Scindhia and Jeypore intend going to Bombay also to receive the Prince of Wales, and shall in all possibility ask to be allowed to accompany the Prince to Ceylon and in his voyage round India to Calcutta, and in nearly all his journeys. This Dinkur Rao has proposed will wash out the blot of the Viceroy's displeasure.

The *Dnyan Prakash* of the 26th exults at an article of the *Englishman* saying on a reliable authority that Lord Northbrook will resign after a few months and the Duke of Buckingham will succeed him. This style makes me believe that if such a thing happens he will afterwards, say that Government has kept his word in the Baroda affair, but have afterwards compelled him to resign.

With best Salams.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,

KAILAS NATH SUKUL.

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[72]

Benares, Rattan Phatuk 1st *August*, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY DEPARTMENT,
TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

HAVING not been favored with a line, for twenty days, during which period I despatched no less than eight letters, I began to doubt whether they reached you or not, and having had something of importance to communicate, I made up mind not to write so long as I did not bear from you. That very day I despatched a note to this purpose and at the same sent a telegram requesting the favor of your kindly condescending to give me an account of the state of your good health, etc.

I cannot find words to express how very thankful and happy I feel now that I have received your kindest favor of the 27th of August, as it contains an expression that has given me a firm hope of soon having the pleasure of seeing your feet.

I have not even once heard from my Poona friend during the last week, and hope he is gone to Sangamner, the reason whereof you must be remembering is to find out if some of the late Gaekwad's private money is deposited in his Poona Vakeel's Kothi or not. This man (I mean the Gaekwad's Vakeel at Poona) is the richest man in Deccan, and there is every probability that Malhar Rao might also have in his last moments trusted him with his vast sums, as not having been on very good terms with him during his reign, his vakil is the least and the last to be suspected. I have however heard from another quarter something of interest to yourself, about which I have already given you a hint in my letter of the 28th ultimo.

The *Sarvajanik Sabha* of Poona has through its confidential committee several times written to Holkar and Jeypore as well

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as other chiefs about the advantages of Union and now lately they have again written to the two above-named Maharajas that the present is a very good opportunity and they should try to invite the Prince of Wales to their capitals where they should also assemble other petty chiefs around them to meet on the occasion to pay their respects jointly to their future sovereign and in reality to swear offensive and defensive cooperation and an eternal Union in their common cause and against their common foes. This is the advice that the Poona *Sarvajanik Sabha* has given to Holkar and the Maharaja of Jeypore, and these chiefs must be thinking of collecting all the petty chiefs around them to meet the Prince when he condescends to visit their capitals.

The *Dnyan Prakash* of the 23rd Ultimo contains a vernacular article against the new Tariff Act and an English one on the Agrarian Disturbances, which most undeniably establishes that the *Sarvajanik Sabha* is at the bottom of it and has instigated the cultivators to rise and ill treat the Sowkars and protest against the increased assessment.

(In complete)

[73]

Benares, Rattan Phatuk, 4th August, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,

INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THE THUGGY DEPARTMENT,

TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

I BEG herewith most respectfully to tender you my most heartfelt thanks for the two 100 Rs. Currency-notes you very kindly remitted me under cover of your most esteemed favor of the 29th ulto. They came most opportune as you must have seen in the papers, that it has rained here (I mean these parts) most heavily, incessantly for the last six days, and the river Ganges has risen so very high that three-fourth of the whole city is under water.

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The whole of the Branch Station precincts on the other side of the river, being submerged, the trains pass via Mugulserai only; the Branch Line traffic having been stopped. The oldest inhabitants do not remember having ever seen such a rising of the river before. Thousands of houses, some of them quite recently built have fallen down. One of my own houses has greatly suffered, having been very high and quite exposed to the bearing of rain on all four sides. It required a prompt repairing. Nearly all the public offices being partly under water, and partly inaccessible on account of being surrounded by water have been closed for 4 days. Besides I am unwell, as are a great number of inhabitants, owing to the damp air of the city. I had in a former letter informed you of my having been troubled with cramps in my stomach which has ultimately changed into a mild dysentry, which has not left me yet, and I think myself very unlucky so long as I do not again have the most indescribable satisfaction of seeing your feet once more.

Allahabad is in the greatest danger of being literally submerged if its protection the Bund is in the least damaged.

I beg herewith to enclose extracts from the letter of my Poona correspondent for your information. I have sent him a remittance to enable him to go to Sangamner where Bulwant Rao Dev and the Baroda Vakil have gone whose native place is Sangamner. In these days even the Dak cannot with punctuality be despatched from and come to Benares.

You will see that the Poona man is in great distress, as he is in all his letters trying to impress; but I have only told him that I shall reward him according to his troubles as soon as he does any signal service ! till then I can only give him his expenses only.

With best Salams.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

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[74]

Benares, Rattan Phatuk, 6th August, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THE THUGGY DEPARTMENT,
TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

WITH innumerable thanks I beg most respectfully to acknowledge the receipt of your most esteemed favor of the 31st ultimo enclosing a couple of Government Currency Notes of Rs.100 each. I cannot find sufficient words to express how much grateful I feel for this most of opportune and liberal gift, of which I was in the greatest need, owing to the injury that my house has sustained during the late rains and the unexpected flooding of the Ganges beyond all previous limit. In my letter preceding this I had also complained of a mild dysentery under which I had been laboring for the last 5 or 6 days and I have much pleasure to inform you that I am better now and able to go anywhere or do any thing that you order. I am longing "for the long letters" you wrote "you would write me in a few days". I do not remember any body bearing the name Krishna Rao whom I had seen at Simla, before leaving it. Perhaps you mean Saligram by the name Krishna Rao, as I had told you of his being there at the time. He is here, and had met me two or three times. He and his partner are both very much pleased at the idea of coming of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, as they think that Government would make great purchases of them. He was about to go down to Calcutta and I hope he has already gone, as I have not seen him for the last four or five days. And, if you mean some other man I do not remember to have seen him.

A number of people of this city, who are much pleased to hear that Government is in some danger have spread a rumour

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that the Russians are making preparations to attack the capital of Afghanistan, and that as soon as they have once taken it, they will immediately try to get the ultimatum of their wishes—India. So that these our present Rulers are in great fear of some day losing this mine of wealth.

I had often spoken to you of a very great Banker of Baroda Gopal Rao Mairal, who was made the Dewan of Baroda at the suggestion of the Resident. So long as Gopal Rao was Dewan, Malhar Rao could do no excess. So they all conspired against his life, and having called over Dr. Bhau Daji from Bombay by whom he was treated for hernia in such way that the very next day that the Dr. received his. . . . and took leave for Bombay, this great man dies, and the Rajah as well as his conspirators all rejoiced and gave food (sweetmeats) and a gold Mohur to 2,000 Brahmins as Dukhina per head. The whole Deccan felt most sincerely for the untimely death of this great man. Now this man left no issue, and his nephew Bala Saheb was the nearest relative and so proposed to succeed him. This young man was compelled to present 16 lacs of Rs. to M. R. to be allowed to inherit his uncle's property. This Bala Saheb's cousin has come here, a few days ago. I am trying to make this man's acquaintance and to find out the cause of his coming, whether it is on some errand or merely on pilgrimage.

With Salams.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

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[75]

Benares, Rattan Phatuk, 8th August, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,

INSPECTOR GENERAL, THAGGY DEPARTMENT,

TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

HAVING replied your last letter, dated the 31st ultimo., I beg herewith to inform you that nobody bearing the name of Krishna Rao did arrive at Simla whilst I was there, nor did you ever write to me of his being there in any of your letters before this last. After much enquiry I have at length found out that this gentleman was Krishna Rao Jatar, son of the late Diwan of Gwalior. During his father's Diwanship, this gentleman was the Sirsoobha of a territory, the revenue whereof was Rs.20,00,000 in which capacity he still is. This man had lately left Gwalior, on a leave of absence for 4 months to visit Muthra and Ayodhya. He went to Simla in a most private manner; and from all I have been able to discover he went there only for the purpose of paying his respect to some officer who is a great friend of his and his late father. Having left Simla, he has not come down to Benares direct, but has rather halted at Ayodhya (Oudh near Fyzabad) and is there busy in the observance of his religious rites, so that he has not yet reached Benares, and as soon as he does so, I shall try to see him, and having discovered the real cause of his going there shall let you know or I shall have found out by that time. Some friend of mine has also hinted that he has been purposely dispatched to Simla by the Maharaja himself to find out what the opinions of the Viceroy and the Secretaries and the Members of the Viceroy Council were of himself and his decisions in the late Baroda trial. God knows the truth so long as I do not meet him.

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I have in this interim learnt from a good authority that Jeewanjee Maharaj a very very rich, Mahant (monk) of Bombay, is advancing money from his own pocket on account of Malhar Rao, being spent in trying for his release and reinstallation to the throne of Baroda. It is not certainly known whether Malhar Rao's men Govind Rao Mama and Bulwant Rao Dev have deposited their own money in his *Kothee* or that in hope of some reward he is hazarding his own wealth in such foolish and vain pursuits.

My Poona correspondent has, in reply to my letter about the Satara Association, written to me something of interest to yourself and I beg to quote his own words :

"I received your letter on the 29th and the interval I spent in enquiring about the meeting alluded to. As I understand there are a few periodical gatherings at Satara as we have here, my informant gives me not their names. One of them is of recent birth and owes its existence to our G. V. J. Its object is to show to the Swami, the expounder of our Vedic religion that he is wrong in maintaining that our religion does not allow Idolatry. This is purely a religious association and is therefore an innocent one. There was once an association formed during the life-time of the late Ranee of Satara. The members thereof were people of great rank and solid education. Its object was to show Government that it had done a great wrong to the House of Shivaji in annihilating that principality. I shall send you a petition on part of the Ranee a production of that meeting. Another pamphlet fully illustrating the arbitrary rule of the British Government in subverting that small Maratha dependency, I am told was printed to a small extent only I mean only 50 copies of which were distributed amongst the magnates of India, the Secretary of State for India and some members of the English Parliament. If this association has not died out its proceedings deserve being carefully "watched". He has promised to write further on the subject as he comes to know more about the same.

With best and most respectful Salams.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,
KAILAS NATH SUKUL.

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[76]

Simla, 10th August, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

BY Sunday's post I received your letter of the 4th August. I don't think I have anything particular to say except that I think that it will be a capital plan your travelling through the places you mention after a little. I will write about that in a few days. Sickness is fast disappearing from Simla and in a short time I think it would do no harm your running up to see me here for a few days. But I will write again about that also.

I have no idea what would in any way be remunerative for your Poona correspondent as a salary till he is in better circumstances, but this paying him only spasmodically is apt, I think, to produce intention of something to say. The letter I sent to you to translate came to me from the person to whom it was addressed. But I cannot help thinking there was a mistake and that it was intended for somebody else. I enclose a note in this and send the letter direct today. I hope you are better and that you will soon be quite well.

I will write again in a few days. It is still very hot here. I hear there is cholera in Umballa and so I think it well you should remain at home for a little. I shall have plenty for you to do after a little.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

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[77]

Benares, Rattan Phatuk, 11th August, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,

INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THE THUGGY DEPARTMENT,

TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

I HAVE the happiness most respectfully to congratulate you in the success yourself, Mrs. Bradford and your brother had in the Simla Badminton Tournament, and to say that I am always praying to the Almighty for your similar success in everything you undertake.

You will be much pleased to hear the cause which the people of these parts assign to have led to intended visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. To make it perfectly intelligible I must first inform you that according to the calculations of the astrologers of ancient India, Delhi was considered to be the most propitious and suitably situated spot for the building of the capital of India, and the Mussulmans too for the most part made it their own capital. The most central portion of it is the place you might have seen near Kutub where that Iron pillar is stuck. You might have heard the legend of this pillar, which is said to have caused the overthrow of Anandpal's dynasty. The vicinity of this pillar was considered to be the most auspicious spot for the coronation of Kings. Now the ignorant portion of the natives of these parts are never sure that English people do not believe in charms, magic, astrology and the agency of the black art. They are rather confident that these (English) people are the most skilful in all these sciences, as without these, they say the wonderful results accomplished by them would be impossible. So this sort of natives have spread a rumor among themselves that the astrologers of Europe have all jointly discovered some very auspicious moment for the coronation of the

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Prince, and as he cannot be crowned king of the British Empire during the life-time of his Royal Mother it has been thought proper to crown him Emperor of Hindostan, the most extensive productive and wealthy of his possessions on the globe, and he is accordingly coming to undergo that ceremony at Delhie the long famed capital of this country.

Krishna Rao has not yet reached Benares. He is still at Oudh and if he does not come down to Benares it will be a sure sign of his having been sent to Simla by the Maharaja of Gwalior himself.

The Maharaja Scindhia has however broken the long established rule of his ancestors of never visiting any Raj, by condescending last year to pay a flying visit to Holkar at his own capital against the objections raised by all his courtiers. Early this year he visited the Nawab of Rampore at his chief city, and now has in a most unexpected manner gone to see Jeypore. Although, externally it shows nothing but the openness unostentatiousness and a sort of strange inclination to be friendly and familiar with all his equals, yet on well considering the subject for some time, it gives rise to a sort of surprise which at once strengthens the suspicion of there being something at the bottom of all this. I am trying however to make some of his influential dependents here my friends, and have also written to a friend of mine there to plunge well into the subject and let me know the real state of things there.

You will be much more surprised to hear of the treatment that a number of his very respectable servants received at his hands on his return from the Baroda Trial. There are five grand Divisions of the Maoratha Brahmins—The Deshusth, Karadhe, Rigvedi, Chitpawan and the Yajurvedi. Of these five the Chitpawans are all very intelligent and have always held the highest and most honourable posts in all ages and under every rule. The Peshwas themselves were Chitpawan. They are always very diplomatical and treacherous. Damodur Pant, late Private Secretary to Malhar Rao, was also a Chitpawan and seeing him turn witness against his own master, whom he himself instigated to all these vices and reaped the advantages thereof and in the end became the chief cause of his ruin. Maharaja Scindhia

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immediately on his arrival at Gwalior, first of all dismissed a great number of Chitpawans in his service and then thinking it would cause a great noise he stopped his hands and marked out the remainder of them, as men never to be trusted and by degrees fit to be done away with.

Not having received any line from yourself for the last six days I beg in to feel very uneasy and entertain most sanguine hopes of being fortunate enough to receive one this evening.

With best Salams to yourself and Mrs. Bradford.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,

KAILAS NATH SUKUL.

[78]

Benares, Rattan Phatuk, 13th August, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY DEPARTMENT,
TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

HEREWITH I beg most respectfully to acknowledge the receipt of your kindest favor of the 10th instant, enclosing a Hundred Rupees Government Currency Note of the Calcutta Circle for which kindly accept my most heartfelt thanks the only tribute of a poor-well-wisher, who, wherever he might be, is always praying for your long life and prosperity.

I have already sent a hundred rupees (100/-) to my Poona correspondent, and have written to him to take fifty rupees for his own and family expenses and to use the other half in his travelling expenses for instance, conveyance, a servant to bear

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him company wherever he goes. He has now made up his mind to go to Sangamner, in which town, the richest man in Deccan the Gaekwad's agent (Vakil) lives. It was to this man's house at Sangamner that Bulwant Rao Dev had been invited, where he went and passed a fortnight. Now that the guest and the host have both returned back to Poona, my correspondent intends going to that place and having entered the house of the Vakil under some disguise, for instance a worshipping Brahmin and etc. at the lowest pay of 3 or four rupees a month, he will manage to discover if some portion of Malhar Rao's money is deposited with the Vakil or what ? I have plainly told this man that he may expect a good reward after he succeeds in performing some signal service. Till then he may only hope to get his expenses, together with something for his family. As for his inventing news, I cannot wholly contradict you, as your experience is a thousand times more than mine, as I have seen proved in several matters, just exactly what you had predicted. This much I can say in his defence that apparently he is not all a cunning man, besides his being a regular hater of his countrymen. I have another man at Poona too. Ram Bhau's brother-in-law Balaji Pandurang Vaghmare, whom, I have promised to pay fifteen rupees a month if he writes me a letter every day. Instead of writing me every day this man has written me every three or four days, and his letters have only served to corroborate, what the other man writes. This man's letters bore witness to all the grand items of the other letters, as the departure of B. R. D. to Sangamner and his return, Dayanand's lectures and G. V. J.'s meetings, but he cannot discover the real things. He represents the same items differently. For instance; when B. R. D. went to Sangamner this man wrote to me that he has gone to Sholapur and would thence go to Madras to see Malhar Rao. I have however much scolded him for these careless tidings, but so long kept him on. Ram Bhau is very sick at Baroda ever since he went there; so that his going there has been quite useless and no way beneficial. I beg to quote the following extracts from my correspondent's letter :

> "On the 3rd instant there was a meeting called in the Budhwarpeth. It was to levy water cess on the inhabitants of Poona, it being a measure of our Municipality.

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The foremost in the gathering were Ganesh Vasudeo Joshi, Madho Rao Govind Ranade, Madho Rao Moreshwar Kunte and so forth. They have not signed their representations on the score of their being Government servants, and consequently the meeting remains divided."

"Rumour is afloat that the *Ryots* in the Sholapur collectorate are about to revolt. The cause assigned is the enhancement of the Land Revenue. Prompt measures have been taken by the Police force to nip the project while in the bud. I shall let you know what follows hereafter.'

"I saw Bulwant Rao Dev in his stately carriage driving through Budhwarpeth. He was accompanied by a Maratha richly dressed. Every body pointed at them, but no one knew who that Maratha was. I am told that B returned from Sangamner last week. I am every day expecting orders from you to take Bulwant Rao with myself as also to hear in answer to my other queries. I am ready to stop at a moment's notice. It is now 2 weeks since I am thinking of going."

My other man has informed me that this Maratha's name is Gujabha and that he is a Sirdar of Baroda. Perhaps he has brought this fellow for the purpose of making him the commander of the rebel troops. More will be discovered hereafter, and made known to me.

Gopal Rao Mairal's nephew has come to these parts for the purpose of procuring orders permitting Govind Rao Mama to return to Baroda whenever he likes.

I am really very happy to receive the permission of running up to Simla as thus, I will have the satisfaction of seeing your feet once more.

With best Salams.

I beg to remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

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[79]

Benares, Rattan Phatuk, 16th August, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,

INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY DEPARTMENT,

TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

TODAY is our Rakshabundhun Holiday, a festival of the Brahmins, who tie a sort of silken wrist bands round the wrists of their Masters and other known great men, who use to give them some cash in return thereof. I also used to tie these when in the Maharaja's service, but now as yourself are my master and all in all, I have sent a couple of these gaudy things, one for yourself and one for Mrs. Bradford, with a view rather to enlighten you on this custom than anything else.

"My Poona correspondent writes : The ultimate result of Swamee Dayanund's lectures, is the intended establishment of the new church. I am told that already 200 persons have made up their minds to give up their old religion. They have determined upon holding a secret meeting wherein oaths would be administered to each convert separately to keep the proceedings of their new church a secret. This seems to accord with the tenets of the Freemasons. Let us see what follows. This new meeting probably comes off on the coming Sunday. I wish I might be admitted to that meeting.

On Nagpunchmee (the 6th instant) there was a meeting held near the house of G. V. Joshi, in Bhatwadekar's house. The lecturer was the Swami and the subject was 'Union' The Audience was pretty large. I myself was present. Madho Rao Govind Ranade, Madho Rao Moreshwar Kunte, Mahadev Tha they and other persons of less note were in attendance. The lecture began at ½ past 4 p.m. precisely and continued till half past seven in the evening. As the time advanced the gathering

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became more and more thick. The lecture was instructive and animating to a degree and the lecturer managed to keep himself within bounds of loyalty still it produced the desired effect on the minds of the youths present. This association is called the *Aikya Vardhini* Sabha (the Union Increasing Society) and you shall know the particulars thereof in the list I am preparing for you."

I have come to know something that the Maharaja of Vizianagaram spoke in his private Durbar a few days ago and I shall give you an account thereof in my next.

With best Salams, I beg to remain,

Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,

K. N. SUKUL.

[80]

Benares, Rattan Phatuk, 19th August, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,

INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THE THUGGEE DEPARTMENT,
TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

IT is now six days since I received your last favor, dated the 10th instant and I now begin to feel uneasy about it.

Having this day received the *Dnyan Prakash* of the 16th instant my attention was drawn towards an article in its editorial complaining against the tyranny of Government on the poor natives of this country—in passing the new Tariff Act, which this paper says is highly detrimental to the interests of the manufacture of cloth in this country. He has not given his opinion in full on the subject but has only given one short paragraph and

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promises to write more fully in the next issue. All he says can be summed up in the few words "In these days, there is so much confusion in our country—manufactures, that we every day hear of some thing new taking place in respect to them. In our last, having given some information about our cloth manufacture, our readers must have easily found out that there being much activity in this manufacture, there were signs of daily increase in it. But, during the past week Government of India has made a new law about the duties of all staples of merchandise, on perusing which every patriot will never fail to feel it as if it were going to eclipse all our trades and manufactures. Every one is sure to guess the contents hereof as soon as he comes to know that the late Collector of Surat, the celebrated Mr. T. C. Hope has been at the bottom of it, because every one in these parts from a baby to an old man, knows how very much this officer is bent upon the good of the native of this country. Ever since this manufacture took root in the hearts of our people, the Manchester Chamber of Commerce has always been memorialising the Secretary of State for India to do away with the duties of this manufacture and though their petitions were openly not granted but Government of India has by passing this act accorded them, as much profit as was in its power to give away. Today, having not space enough to write in full how ill would our manufactures fare under influence of this Act, and how admirably we are to be tyrannised over, in place of the Manchester merchants, who were crying at the injustice done to them. We have here only translated what the Englishman says on this subject. Here follows the translation of the Editorial of the *English Akhbar*.

I also here in enclose a paragraph from the letter Poona correspondence of the Pioneer of the 14th instant. This fully establishes mine as well as my correspondent's opinion of these Poona people.

Maharaja Scindhiah has gone beyond Jeypore too under the pretence of seeing Ajmere, and Pooshkar a place of Hindu pilgrimage, but I fear there is certainly something else at the bottom of it. Perhaps he wishes personally to meet some other Rajahs or that being nearer their territories he thinks this a better and convenient spot to be able to correspond with them. The

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Resident or his assistant would certainly be with him and he will be trying to find out anything wrong that might be proceeding from him.

With best Salams.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,

KAILAS NATH SUKUL.

[81]

Benares, Rattan Phatuk, 20th August, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THE THUGGY DEPARTMENT,
TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

THE enemies of Government in Poona have been accidently divided into two parties. I have already informed you that a devotee named Dayanand Saraswatee was invited over by the Reformed Hindu Community from Bombay, who were long in search of someone to stand forward and shield them from the attacks of their Orthodox friends, and this Devotee although professing the Vedic religion openly protests against Idolatry, the chief worship of the Hindus, and is not at all strict about eating and drinking anything and with anyone. This is only what all these reformists want, and finding all these allowable according to the Devotee's tenets, they have all commenced respecting him as their chief Guru even so for that some five hundred have openly taken oaths to observe and profess his religion. The orthodox party which contains the majority and almost all Shastries and learned men is against the Devotee as well as those men. The Devotee mostly depends on the Vedas

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for the support of his doctrine which he confirms by advancing Vedic aphorisms as authorities, and possess the tact of translating the same aphorisms in different ways, the style being ambiguous, and consisting of words of more meanings than one. Such a man can easily deceive any one not possessing a thorough knowledge of the Sanskrit Grammar and the Vedas, which the reformed Hindus scarcely at all possess. To remedy this evil of being liable to be cheated only because of their ignorance of the meanings of the Vedas, the head opulent and influential members of the Orthodox party have determined upon founding a Vedic school, where the meanings of the Vedas with everything concerning them will be inculcated. On the 16th of August there was a gathering in G. V. Joshi's Vishnu Temple, for the purpose of raising funds for the school, where all the influential men were present. Madhav Rao Govind Ranade who is foremost in all public concerns was there too with his colleagues the Headmaster of the Government High School and reporter on the Native Press, who after G. V. Joshi had first opened the meeting by briefly but ably describing their need of a Vedic School, the approval of the establishment of such an institution by nearly all the supporters of the old doctrines, and the immediate need of funds & c. As soon as the subscription list was opened nearly Rs.3,000 were instantly subscribed. Hereupon the three above-named persons the chief reformers rose up by turns and spoke much against the uselessness of the school and the funds, and scarcely they left speaking than some Shastris backed by some orthodox high officials rose up and began calling them anti-Hindus and other similar names, whereupon regular quarrel ensued wherein no abuse was left unused by each party against the other, so long as the Reformers have not left the meeting. This has given rise to a most inveterate party spirit and enmity which is sure to be beneficial to our (Governments') cause in various ways.

The same day that this meeting was held there, the half yearly meeting of the *Vaktritwottejak Sabha* came off in the *Sarvajanik Sabha's* Assembly Rooms at Phadtare's Wada in Sadashivpeth. This is a society to move the people to habituate themselves to speak publicly against the common and all—be setting evils of the country and the proper remedy thereof, and as it is a branch of the *Sarvajanik Sabha*, its place of meeting is the same with

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that of the Sabha. As in these annual half yearly and quarterly meeting nothing but regular administration reports are read and similar works are looked into so there came off nothing of much interest but that some suspicious officials as the Treasurer and some one or two more were done away with, a couple of members had resigned, but not allowed to do so, and the meeting broke up.

In another Poona Vernacular called *"The Shivaji"* of which the proprietor and joint Editor is G. V. Joshi himself, of the 13th instant there appeared a correspondent's letter signed "A conquered British subject" there is an article saying that he does not see the least use of showing any hospitality whatever to our expected Royal guest, as the like has never been shewn to any of our native Princes who have herebefore from time to time gone to England. The wording there of is very ironical as I have taken it."

"Bulwant Rao Deo had in this interim been to Akalkote to consult a very celebrated Devotee who lives there, about the release and reinstallation of his former master and only returned this day last week. The devotee has given him some hopes of their once more flourishing over their territory much earlier than they hope."

On Sunday the 15th instant His Highness the Maharaja of Vizianagram had in one of his private meeting given expression to so improper a sentence that my own hairs stood on ends as soon as I came to hear it. I have more than once informed you of the society of the Maharaja and the excesses that are practised there. It was on one of these occasions when the Maharaja, his son Raja Sambhu Narayan Singh, Baboos Shreenarayan Singh and Aishwarya Narayan Singh, Secretary to the Benares Institute, the 3rd Prince of Nepaul and a Bengalee Raja of the Tagore family were present. French liquors were not yet in circulation the spirits of the Company were in reality very high, when the prince of Nepaul said that our future king was coming to our country, and how does the Maharaja think of treating him when he comes to Benares. Hereupon the Maharaja said that very few people are pleased with Government, and I very much fear if somebody aims at the life of our Royal visitor, our country will suffer another degradation in the eyes of the

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rulers and the consequences would be very bad. The prince of Nepaul said that he has now despaired of seeing this country freed from this obnoxious rule, when Raja S. N. Singh and others said what they were talking about, had they lost their senses. Hereupon the Maharaja was very sorry and could not be roused from his gloom the whole night. He made every one there swear never to breath this news anywhere. This news is confidential and authentic.

With best Salams.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,

KAILAS NATH SUKUL.

[82]

Benares, Rattan Phatuk, 24th August, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,

INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THE THUGGY DEPARTMENT,
TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

I HAVE been very unfortunate of late, in not having been even once remembered with a line within the last fourteen days, and am led to think that nothing but much to do, and to think of have been the causes of it.

Krishna Rao has come here, and as I have already written to you, I went to see him at his house with a desire of securing his friendship, if possible, we knew each other, having once had an occasion to travel in one and the same railway carriage, when we had minutely get acquainted with one another's name and occupation etc.

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After first two or three interviews, the conversation yesterday turning to his late travels he with some difficulty confessed his trip to Simla, and said that he had only very privately been there, having got leave of absence to visit Ayodhya and Benares only, and that it would be very bad for him if his trip to Simla any how came to the knowledge of his master—the Scindhia. The cause of his going there, he told me, was only this, that ever since he had last year heard that Lord Napier of Magdala's term of service as the Commander-in-chief of India was over, and that he soon intended retiring (which, though now has been postponed), he had on account of the friendship that had very long existed between His Excellency and his (Krishna Rao's) father, often made up his mind to pay him a visit for the last time either at Simla or at Calcutta. But as his master Jayaji Rao Scindhia is very suspicious of all his servants who hold the least intercourse with British Officers, even so far that had he told the truth, he would never have got leave of absence also, and hence this pretence. In short he says that he went there merely to pay him respects to the Commander-in-chief, who had procured him a house to stay at, at his own expense, and at the same time feasted him several days. When returning he passed three days in Ayodhya; and then more than a week at his jungle grant, which his people are getting cleared and brought under cultivation. He himself or God knows how much truth there is in this assertion, as I am perfectly acquainted with native character and hence would scarcely believe what a high native (and especially one holding a high office in a native Durbar) would always tell ! Though I found all marks of sincerity in his features while speaking to me, as his face betrayed no emotions, I shall not fail to make some of his confidentials.....to me if there is any mystery, about the matter.

Ever since receiving your most esteemed favor of the tenth instant. I keep myself always ready to set out at a moment's notice to go any where, but as ordered in the same, not to leave Benares so long as I do not again hear from yourself about it. I cannot describe how very much obliged to you,—I feel first for the timely remittance which saved my already shaken house from falling down, and secondly for your permission to run up to Simla, and to have the most inexpressible satisfaction of personally paying my respects to yourself and Mrs. Bradford.

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With best respects, and hoping yourself and Mrs. B are all in the enjoyment of perfect health.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever Obediently,

KAILAS NATH SUKUL.

[83]

Simla, 27th August, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

THERE are one or two things I want you to find out for me if you can do so quietly. Make enquiries very quietly and do not let it be known that you have any purpose in asking questions.

1st then. Can you find out whether there are any people in Benares of the names given on the separate sheet who are likely to have sent a letter to the late Gaekwad in April last sympathizing with him etc., and if so who are they. If they do not exist whether you have any idea who can ..... those ..... The letter having the Benares post-mark seems to have gone from that city. I think it more than likely names are feigned indeed that the whole letter may have only been to keep up a little excitement and how did it fall into other hands. That is one thing though.

2nd is this can you by any means find out who is a likely man to be writing letters to the Maharajah of Rewah purporting to come from the Private Secretary to Nana Saheb of course without a signature. They were written in English ..... One letter from the same hand is written from Calcutta and posted there on the 9th July. The second has the post-mark of Gaya of 7th August, Bankipore August 8th and Rewa August 9th.

I think from this the writer must have come to Gaya from Calcutta between the 4th July and 9th August and possibly he

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may be one of the Gaekwad's Agents for he refers to the injustice to which Malhar Rao has been subjected. It is not of much consequence whether you can find out anything regarding the above people or not. So do not trouble yourself about it. Of course I shall be glad if you can do so that I may know who the writers of such letters are likely to be.

I have several letters to thank you for and so should have written before this but have been very busy and have had nothing to say.

I write before ..... send you a remittance and ask you to come to see me.

I remain,

Your faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

I hope your Poona agent will keep you informed of anything of special interest.

Kandar Nath Chakarbartee (?) dweller in the suburb of (?) in the city of Benares (?)

Chandi Parshad, dweller in the suburb of (..... ?), Benares (?)

Sakharam Bhat, suburb of (?), Benares (?)

Safdar Ali, suburb of Nardu Chowk.

Karamutullah, Shawala Ghat, Benares.

Sayyid Mir Ali Muhammad, Shawala Ghat, Benares.

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[84]

Benares, Rattan Phatuk, undated—

Probably of 8th August, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,

INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THE THUGGEE DEPARTMENT,

TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

IT is now eighteen days since the 10th instant that I have not been favored with a singleline (expressing) (of your good health or anything else about yourself) and is it not enough to make a well-wisher quite uneasy, who has hitherto been in the habit of being favored every two or three days at the furthest.

Having something of utmost importance and interest to communicate I could not venture to write it to you without first hearing from you. There is no doubt of all my letters despatched to you since the 6th instant having reached you safely ..... one has come back to me but as none of them has been acknowledged, I have a hundred misgivings as to the cause of the delay in remembering me with a line far as ..... a time at once. In your ..... letter, you had ordered me to be ready to start and to await the arrival of and order to enter my future .... days. In the ..... therein it's ..... orders for me to pay a flying visit to Simla too, but on hearing a second time on this subject also, and I am most impatiently waiting for it.

At present I can discover no other cause of Krishna Rao's trip than that which I have given you already.

My Poona man (.....) private communications to some of the Rajahs and chiefs, and have come to know some which I shall give you immediately I hear from you.

The Maharaja of Vizianagram (.....) preparations for the reception of H. R. H. the Prince of Wales. The

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Houses are all being white washed painted a new and brilliant uniforms are under preparation for all his servants. I had likewise received invitation ..... you would give me much work now, and had a ..... for a long absence from my home. Shall I have to go to Bombay for accompanying the Prince, in his travels throughout that Presidency? What is in your opinion of this? ..... Benares (.....) Simla or shall have to go to the other places first?

With best Salams.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,
KAILAS NATH SUKUL.

[85]

Simla, 1st September, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

I DID not reply to your telegram as I had the previous day despatched a letter in which I asked you to do various little bits of work. I have today received your letter of the 28th in which you mention having got some information to give me on the one or more points. I shall be glad to receive it.—All your letters for which I am much delayed must have reached me. My object in not asking you to leave your home early has been to let the rains pass-off and to put people off any suspicions. I will write within the next few days, send a method (?) and some instructions. I have been partly intending going into the plains for a week ..... in which case I should have written to ask you to write to me, but I have given it up for the present. You must excuse me for not writing as often as I did for I have been very busy and I had nothing particular to say. Let me hear from you anything you may pick up.

I remain,
Your faithfully,
E. R C. BRADFORD.

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[86]

Simla, 4th September, 1875.

DEAR SIR,

HEREWITH I beg to enclose a note for Rs.500 which I hope will reach you in safety. The sum will enable you I trust to send a small amount to your Deccani friend and also to pay your own expenses for travelling. You might come quietly up here to see me before going elsewhere. This place is very healthy now. You must be cautious in conversation as to where you are going etc. When I see you we can talk over future movements. Of course you will see whether you are able to get hold of the information I asked a few days back.

I remain,
Your faithfully,

E. R. C. BRADFORD.

[87]

Benares, Rattan Phatuk, 5th September, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL OF THE THUGGY DEPARTMENT,
TARA HALL, SIMLA.

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

WITH innumerable thanks I beg herewith most respectfully to acknowledge the receipt of your most esteemed favor of the 1st instant and in reply beg to inform you that in reply to your favor of the ..... 27th Ulto I have already brought to your notice the fact of the letters written by the Confidential Committee of the Poona *Sarvajanik Sabha* to the Maharajas of

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Indore and Jeypore, as well as the reception they met and the effect they produced at the hands and on the minds of the princes addressed to. They have written to them to assemble all the petty chiefs and Rajahs around their territories, and having explained to them the inmost desire of the British Government as regards the future treatment of the native landed nobility, to give them an insight into their own future state, and having then properly explained to them the advantages of Union to make them swear with a vessel of Ganges water in their hands to be of one mind in all pursuits having something of general interest as their aim, and to join without the least trace of hypocrisy or reserve in all designs offensive or defensive against their common foes. This proposal of the *Sarvajanik Sabha* has been accepted by these two chiefs, and they will doubtlessly carry their plan into execution if they are allowed to collect these petty chiefs in their capitals under any pretence whatever.

About those persons, whose name you have given me in your favor of the 27th Ultimo, I have guessed the real man who got all those letters bearing feigned names written. This man is Daji Barodekar *alias* Mama Saheb Sangamnerkar. This man lives here and has the management of a *Chattra* (Rations) house where Sanyasis (a sect of Devotees bearing cloths colored with ochre and bearing a bamboo stick of the size of their bodies in their hands) are daily fed and is brother to Gaekwad's Vakil at Poona whom we have been suspecting as the Banker with whom the late Gaekwad's late money is deposited, and after which my Poona friend is trying to turn every stone. This is the most likely person to have got all those letters written. There are a few other Baroda people here but this Daji Saheb is the most prominent of them all being very rich and influential.

As regards the private Secretary to Nana Saheb, I have not yet found any clue—I have however sent a man to Gaya, and shall in all probability find out something on this man's return. I am however trying to discover some thing positive about them both.

I am very happy to see in the *Pioneer* of yesterday that yourself are to be attached to His Royal Highness's the Prince of Wale's Indian staff during his visit, as hereby you will surely secure his greatest esteem by your abilities and the extensive

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knowledge of India that you are possessed of and as this servant would also have an opportunity of accompanying you over the whole country to be visited by him.

With most dutiful Salams.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,

KAILAS NATH SUKUL.

I am perfectly satisfied that Krishna Rao went there only to see the Commander-in-Chief. He wanted some recommendation which he could not get, and I shall inform you of it, when there.

He also went to pay his respects to the Viceroy but that being the Council day he could not, though he had seen the Foreign Secretary several times.

Of the six persons whose names you mentioned in your last letter—Sukharam Bhat is a very celebrated and first-rate Pandit of this city and he might have written to Malhar Rao. There is another name Safdar Ali. This man was a Merchant first, then he turned a glass-blower and ultimately now he is a friend of the Durga Koond Nawab here; he has made much money in that Durbar.

[88]

Benares, Rattan Phatuk, 10th September, 1875.

To

MAJOR E. R. C. BRADFORD,
INSPECTOR GENERAL, THUGGY AND DACOITY DEPARTMENT,
SIMLA (LOST).

KINDEST AND WORTHIEST SIR,

INNUMERABLE thanks for your kindest favor of the 3rd instant covering a Currency Note for Rs..... which I have received just now, having just returned from Gaya where I had been

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for a few days to find some clue to the whereabouts of the man writing to the Maharaja of Rewah as if he were private secretary to Nana Saheb. I had left Benares on the evening of the 5 and have come back today the tenth of the same month.

Nothing can equal the pleasure I have felt to see the order you have.

See you first of an

once made up my mind to ..... This by the 2 o'clock train on Monday next the 13th instant.

In this interim I have received a couple of letters from my Poona friend after a full fortnight, wherein he informs me that he was in the interim obliged to go to his village to settle some land question with his uncles, and hence he could not write any letter. He has not yet gone to Sangamner nor can he do so for the next 10 or 12 days to come having been ordered to sit as juror in one of the session cases to be tried by the judge of the place. However, he promises to go immediately he gets rid of this Government order. I have as per your order sent him a fifty rupees note and shall send him an equal sum again from Simla, after I hear from him of the receipt of this.....

..... find no clue those letter to the ..... a Rewah here, I thought it proper to go over to Gaya for a few days and see if I could make out there, but my search there was equally fruitless, as there had been nobody at all noticeable, there, during the last 2 months, who know English. When coming back I fell in with a man from Hyderabad, who has come to Benaras. This man seems to be a rich man, as he has some 20 men in attendance on him, and being dressed like reformed English students, he at once attracted my notice, and I have ever since followed him with my eyes so long, till I saw him putting up at a Bara, and shall find him out tomorrow morning, that who he is ? So much I have been able to learn from his men, that he first went to Mathura, where he stopped 4 months. From thence he went to ..... Nath Puri, whence he returned ..... having stopped ..... he came to Gaya and ..... month there. It only remains to know if he knows English, then he is the writer of those letters without the least doubt, if not, then there remains to find out whether

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he got it written by some one else and was only the cause of their being written, which all I shall not fail to discover in a day or two and then write to you before leaving this. Nana Barodekar is the man who got those letters to Malhar Rao written and posted at his brother's the Poona Vakil's instigation, and about 4 or 5 days ago he has again written a private letter to Malhar Rao. I have several other guesses regarding the other, but how can I point out any of them as most probable, so long as none is confirmed.

With best Salams.

I remain,
Kindest and Worthiest Sir,
Yours ever obediently,

KAILAS NATH SUKUL.

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APPENDIX I

Enclosure to no. 6

Gāekwād prakarṇā baddal mulkhācen Uddhār

(Li[hūn] pā[lelā] (sic ā [lelā] ma [zkūr])

Srī Śinde Holkar ādi Rājano ! Āj āpṇāṅ samīp koṇte arisṭa prāpta zhāle ā he 1 hyā viṣyi viśeṣa nirūpaṇa karṇe na lagec 1 he dōn divasānīṅ itarān kaḍehī haḷū haḷū zā vūn tyā(ṅ) cā Gāekwāḍā pramāṇec bhayankar pariṇām hoṇyās yatkincit hī avakāś lāgṇār nāhiṇ 1 hyā karitā āpaṇā sarva Rājā(ṅ) kaḍūn jitke sāvadh rāhāvīl titke rāhāṇyas bilkul kasur na karāvi 1 Āpaṇ bahutek sarva Hindusthānāṅtil Rāje ekac Rāja Jananīcī Santatī āhā 1 va hyā karitā prasangiṇ bandhu priti dākhavilyā vācūn na rahātā 1 ek mekās yathā śakti yogya sāhya karṇyās tayār asā.

Gāekwāḍāsi pūrvi zhāleli Tahanāmyāṅtil aṭiṅkaḍe lakṣya na detā adhikār yekāyekī Gāekwāḍās tyāncā ucchāsanā varūn ucḷūn tyāncā sarhaddīcā pār nēvūn ṭākle 1 hyā Ānglabhauma krittiṭ kiti nyāya va sacoṭi āhe 1 He Samsthānik Rājānoṅ ! Śrī Malhār Rāvāstar tyāṅcā durdaivānīṅ dravya sāhya miḷṇyāci muṣkal 1 yā stava āpaṇ te sāhya karūn Inglaṇḍ deśāsi Pārlamenṭ kaḍe apīl karūn he khaṭle va tyāt zhālele sarva anyāya tyās kaḷavūn tyāt āple pahile jayi va vidvān Bāriṣṭār Sārjaṇṭa Vālhantaine yās Vakil nemūn kām cālavile tar āpaṇ siddhi pāvāl ! va yōgya nyāya miḷavūn sri Malhār Rāv rājyārūḍha zhālyās ekandar sarvā(n)s mahadānanda hōyil va ētat sambandhi sarvaśreya āpaṇās milṇār ahe 1 va āple mahatva audārya va bandhupriti hi sarva Jana(n) ta vidit karṇācā hā mōṭhā nikaṭ prasanga āhe tar kac na khātān va antahkarṇāt dvaitabhāva na ṭhevitāṇ āplyā bhāṇḍargṛhānci kulpen ughḍūn apilācā krtyāṅt jitke dravya sāhya avaśya āhe titke karṇyās māge phuḍe pāhunakā 1 va hyā viṣayiciṇ khaṭpaṭ karṇyās hi āpli Pūṇyāci Sabhā karadvya Boḍūn vinaya pūrvak āplyā sannidhā ubhi āhec 1 hi te kām karil 1 Īśva(ra) sadbuddhi devūn āmcā sadariṇ Samsthanikā(n)s hi āmci vinanti mānya hō !

Indu Prakaśa. Tā 17 May San 1875.

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Indu Prakash—17*th May,* 1875.

Sarvajanik Sabha

To excite the whole country (of India) in the case of Gaekwad (Malhar Rao)

Their Highnesses Scindhia, Holkar and other Rajas, what a great misfortune has this day befallen you all ! It needs no further description. In a couple of days it will spread in another direction and then it would take no time to bring about the same results of a most terrible nature there too. Hence your Highnesses and all other Rajas should not fail to be as careful as possible. Many of you all are the children of the same Royal Mother and therefore when an opportunity presents itself you all should not remain behind hand in showing your fraternal love to each other by being ready to assist one another as far as it rests in your powers.

Not paying the least attention to the items of the former treaties with the Gaekwads, without any power to the effect Gaekwad has suddenly been deposed and deported beyond the boundaries of his territory ! How much justice and truth is there to be found in this anglicised doing (treatment) ! O ! Independent Princes (Rajas) His Highness Malhar Rao is in most straightened circumstances and unfortunate as regards pecuniary means, and you all should give him that aid, to enable him to secure the services of our former victorious and learned Barrister Sergt Ballantine, and through him to appeal to the Parliament against this decision and having brought the injustice done in it to the notice of this High Tribunal you are sure to be victorious in the end. Thus having obtained justice and seen Malhar Rao once more reinstated to his rights and recrowned (at Baroda) everyone will be excessively happy and you all shall get the praise of it and your magnanimity, liberality and fraternal love will by this means be soon and easily known all over the world. Then not shrinking on this emergency and leaving off all traces of reciprocal jealousy come forward and

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open the locks of your Treasuries, and give every monetary aid requisite for the institution and conduct of this appeal and our Society of Poona is ready to take upon itself the responsibility and trouble of this appeal with bound hands and humble offer of its services. This (Society) will do this work. God may grant good wisdom to the above named (Princes) that they may approve of this prayer.

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APPENDIX II

(Enclosure to Letter No. 21)

Names of the 'most dangerous characters' of Poona

Govind Vasudev Joshi.
Vishnu Kale.
Bala Mande (at Baroda).
Govind Dawre.
Prof. Krishna Shastri Chiploonkar.
Rav Saheb Gajanun Krishna Bhataudekar.
Madhav Rao Moreshwar Kunte (Head Master, High School).
Yashwant Rao Udas.
Kashi Nath Treembuk Khare.
Gangaram Bhau Mhaske.
Vishnu Moreshwar Thatte.
Vishnu Purushuram Shastri Pandit (*Editor of the Indu Prakash*).
Madhav Rao Phadtare.

कार्यकारी सह सम्पादक
संग्रह तत्त्व पत्रिका उ० प्र०,
संग्रालय, लखनऊ

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